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ABSTRACT

The proceedings of the conference "Women: Their Future in the University and in the Community" are provided. Speakers discussed a variety of concerns that affect all women. In education, the following topics were addressed: the status of affirmative action plans, the establishment of women's studies programs, and the impact of Title IX on the university structure. The following issues that focus on the community were also covered: the range of community services that deliver care to the intellectually, physically, emotionally handicapped, and the aged; the adequacy of community housing; and the allocation of revenue sharing funds. (SPG)

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WOMEN: THEIR FUTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMUNITY

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WOMEN

Their Future
in the University
and the Community

Conference Proceedings

Edited by

Harriet E. Hollander

Sherry Penney

John R. Haines

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$5.00

The following papers were presented

at the October, 1974 conference,

"Women: Their Future

in the University and the Community"

sponsored by

The New York State Citizens Council

Skidmore College

Saratoga Springs, New York

and

The Office of Higher Education
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New York State Education Department

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PREFACE

One of the chief phenomena of the past decade has been the emerging "women's movement." Rooted partially in the civil rights struggle of the 60's, it was featured in works by Simone de Beauvoir (_The Second Sex_) and Betty Friedan (_The Feminine Mystique_). Women as a group have become aware of their common problems and aspirations, and they have voiced discontent at the aspects of the society which relegate them to the status of second class citizens.

The women's movement has never been one force. Instead it includes several factions, which reflect the separate although related concerns of women. At one end of the spectrum are groups organized to demand changes in personal consciousness and in the patterns of social relationships between women and men. Others want revolutionary change in the economic structure. They believe that under capitalism men have a vested interest in the exploitation and oppression of women which will not be relinquished. This vested interest, they state, will disapper under utopian socialism. With this change, sexual equality will no longer represent competition in the market place. At the other end of the spectrum are women's groups which seek to assert power through traditional channels in the existing political structure.

Today, the thrust of feminism in its variety of forms is evident in many areas. There are efforts to increase the proportion of females in the political structure, to encourage women to function as watchdogs of national legislation and local politics, to develop position papers on women's issues, to organize communication networks, and to bring about the end of sexism in educational systems and academic curricula. The women's movement is influencing the consciousness of a new generation and may well change the social fabric of American society.

In the last decade some major changes occurred. Legislative victories and legal battles (where sex discrimination can be shown to exist) have been or are being won. Change has come more slowly, however, where the issue is subtle discriminatory practices. When individuals question the convictions of those who wield power and make decisions progress is slower.

The conference "Women: Their Future in the University and in the Community" was held in order to provide a forum for discussing some of these critical contemporary issues.

For most women, the spheres of

education, work, and community involvement overlap. Working for equal opportunity in one area often has an impact on other related areas. At the conference this interrelationship was clear. In general sessions, speakers discussed the variety of concerns which affect all women. In small group meetings, more specific issues were covered. In education, the following topics were addressed: the status of affirmative action plans, the establishment of women's studies programs, and the impact of Title IX on the university structure. The following issues which focus on the community also were covered: the range of community services which deliver care to the intellectually, physically, emotionally handicapped, and the aged; the adequacy of community housing; and the allocation of revenue sharing funds.

Not only were areas of concern highlighted, but women were encouraged to become active at the university and in the community in an effort to bring about desired changes. Women, on the campus and in community organizations can affect policies, decisions, and legislation in the key areas which will determine the quality of their lives and of those around them.

Harriet E. Hollander Ph.D.
Sherry Penney Ph.D.
John R. Haines Ed.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The speakers who participated, as well as those who were unable to participate but who contributed papers, ranged widely in interests as well as professional expertise, age, and racial background. They function in many capacities: as teachers, students, administrators, consultants, volunteers, artists, lawyers, writers, heads of agencies, leaders or heads of college campuses, and as concerned citizens of their communities. Their participation was greatly enhanced by the presiding chairpersons who coordinated the panels and facilitated the ensuing discussions. In addition to the speakers and contributors we wish to thank Katherine Scranton Rozendaal, Board of Trustees, Skidmore College; Rita Donlevy, New York State Citizens' Council, and the City University of New York;

Claire Olds, Dean of Students, Skidmore College; Susan Spissinger, Assistant Dean of Students, Skidmore College; Helen B. Power, Regent, University of the State of New York; Judy Anscomb, State Education Department; Gloria De Sole, Skidmore College; and Fran Hoffman, Skidmore College for their assistance at the conference.

WELCOME ADDRESS

by
Thomas Laverne
President
New York State Citizens' Council

The New York State Citizens' Council, the co-sponsor of this conference on "Women in the Community", is a non-profit, non-partisan, and non-governmental organization which has been incorporated since 1943.

Its paramount objective has been to invite to membership outstanding citizens who represent the broad spectrum of interest in problem solving in our community, state and nation. The Council was extremely active in the immediate post-war years and up through the early '60's, working on problems of health, education, aging, consumer protection, etc. The Council spearheaded citizen involvement in attacking problems in these areas.

The revival of interest in our

organization is grounded in a deep conviction that dialogues over state and local issues quickly deteriorate in quality, and that people deal with slogans rather than facts and ideas.

The first conference was on political campaign reforms and was jointly sponsored with the New York State Legislative Institute of Baruch College in New York City. It had an impact on legislation in the 1974 New York State Legislative session.

Being the co-sponsor with Skidmore College and the Office of Higher Education Management Service of the New York State Education Department, provided a great opportunity to discuss rights of persons. While the conference dealt with "women's rights", this is merely a reflection of the community hang-ups in all areas of "people's rights."

It was hoped and expected that this conference would discuss the issues in a stimulating and provocative manner. This has been accomplished. The proceedings of the conference should not only educate but stimulate action for solutions of identified problems.

There are many distinguished citizens of our state that have been and are members of the New York State Citizens' Council and have served as officers and directors of this organization.

We invite you all to join with us.

LUCY SKIDMORE SCRIBNER

by

Joseph C. Palamountain, Jr.
President
Skidmore College

I would like to fill you in very briefly on this place where we are meeting, Skidmore College, and how it came into being. I think you'll find it both interesting and relevant.

From surface appearances, it would have been hard to think of a less likely candidate to be founder of a college than Lucy Skidmore Scribner. Married in 1875 to the young scion of the famous Scribner publishing firm -- experiencing within the next four years the birth and death of two children, closely followed by the death of her parents and her husband -- the young widow, herself a semi-invalid with a painful spinal condition that was to worsen as she grew older, moved to Saratoga Springs for the tranquility and the healing waters.

Plunged, in the summers anyway, into an atmosphere of gaiety, gambling and horse racing, she hated every bit of it! She was shy, thought gambling immoral, and horse racing at once cruel and boring.

During the endless winters she was immersed in an ambience of snow, sleet, loneliness, intellectual boredom and an overwhelming, deeply puritan sense of guilt for her own financial well-being, especially in contrast to the genteel (or worse) poverty of intelligent young women in the area. They, through lack of training opportunities, found their job opportunities limited to domestic service, working in mills and factories, and the like. She decided to form a sort of combination school and club for their benefit.

Founded in 1903, the Young Women's Industrial Club had as its stated object,

> The mutual instruction and improvement of its members, the establishment of a social center for them, and the cultivation of such knowledge as may promote their well-being, physical, mental, spiritual, and their ability to become self-supporting. This club shall be self-supporting and open to all girls and young women of good character, Protestant, Catholic, or Jews, White, Negro or Indian.

By 1911, Lucy's school, renamed the Skidmore School of the Arts, had been chartered by the Board of Regents, and in 1922, rechartered as a four-year degree-granting institution and rechristened Skidmore College.

Faithful to Lucy's belief that the development of professional skills and know-how can and should go hand in hand with general knowledge of the humanities, Skidmore now offers the B.S. degree in seven fine arts and professional courses, but requires the candidates for that degree to take almost half of their required course units in the liberal arts. Liberal arts majors, on the other hand, are encouraged to mine the rich lodes of art and photography, to develop a skill in a musical instrument, to learn and perfect themselves in a sport, to explore the self-extensions implicit in the disciplines of dance, art and the theatre.

Like Topsy, Lucy's little academy "just growed." Skidmore today enrolls more than 2000 students. In 1971 Skidmore ceased discriminating against men and became co-educational.

Today we still keep faith with the words of Lucy herself:

> Mere numbers, however, are not all we desire. Our great longing is to be of help to one another, to instill in the minds of the young men and women who come under our care a high aim that makes for sane and noble man and womanhood.

Best wishes for an exciting and memorable conference!

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PART I

WOMEN IN THE UNIVERSITY

WOMEN IN THE UNIVERSITY

In his address, the Commissioner of Education for the State of New York reviewed the goals of position paper #14 entitled "Equal Opportunity for Women". It was developed by the New York State Board of Regents in order to bring about sexual equality in education. Nyquist shows that there has been some progress toward equal opportunity within the State Education Department, particularly in the recruitment and promotion of women in policy development positions.

Moving from the Department to campuses themselves, two authors comment on affirmative action. What has been the outcome of affirmative action programs in universities? What has happened in regard to hiring, promotion, and tenure for women and minorities? Two contrasting views are presented by Marilyn Gittel and Esther Kronovet.

In her study, Esther Kronovet looks at the progress in affirmative action at the community college level. She sees that positive steps have been taken and points out that there are more full-time affirmative action officers at community colleges now than a year earlier and that more campus committees are being formed to deal with affirmative action.

Marilyn Gittel is less optimistic in regard to affirmative action. She finds much "rhetoric" in regard to hiring and promoting women and minorities but insignificant progress. In fact, the rhetoric may be hindering progress as we are led to believe that things are happening.

Another development which is occurring at the college and university level is that interest in women's studies has burgeoned dramatically during the past five years, and student enrollment in women's studies continue to grow. Women are undertaking scholarly research in the social sciences and the humanities and are adding new areas of knowledge in many disciplines. Yet, university faculties often continue to resist giving full recognition to women's studies as a serious field of academic work. Barbara Welter discusses the current status of women's studies at the postsecondary level and outlines the obstacles to further expansion. She sees women's studies as another way of eliminating sexism and discusses the various organizational models which exist as well as the benefits to students and faculty alike which come from women's studies. She then recommends strategies to employ to promote the initiation and continuation of women's studies.

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WOMEN IN EDUCATION:
A BURR'S EYE VIEW

by
Ewald B. Nyquist
President
University of the State of New York
Commissioner of Education

Some weeks ago, I was tempted by an invitation to be with you for this important conference on Women in the University and in the Community. It was easy to accept because, as someone has remarked, temptation usually comes in through a door that has deliberately been left open. And I believe with Oscar Wilde that the only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it.

I am sure most of you are aware that these are demanding times to be in education. This was supposed to be the Age of Aquarius with its promise of love. But, as Commissioner of Education, I have ample evidence for remarking that it is instead the Age of Querulous and that a good part of my job is simply to raise the quality of discontent. Love now seems to be the only really taboo four-letter word in our society. I am often reminded of H.L. Mencken's definition of a Puritan. He is a person who has a sinking feeling that somebody, somewhere, is having some fun.

Only recently, I spoke to a couple of hundred college and university presidents. I want to tell you what I told them, because there are, no doubt, times when you experience days of glorious achievement, only to be followed by days of frustration and disappointment. This is what I told the group of presidents:

Some of you must go to bed at night confident that you have progressed and solved some problems, only to wake up the next morning and find that decisions don't stay made, and be faced, as Pogo says, with new and insurmountable opportunities. If so, you must feel like the point of a story told by Thomas E. Dewey in 1949 after his defeat by Harry Truman. When he went to bed on election night, Dewey was sure he had won the presidency, only to awaken to defeat. So he told this story about an Irish wake.

One participant got drunk and passed out. His friends, as a joke, removed the corpse and put their drunken companion in the coffin. Dawn came, and the man awoke. He felt the silken lining of the box he was in, looked around and said, "If I am alive, why am I in a coffin? If I am dead, why do I have to go to the bathroom?"

I have found in recent years, and especially since Nixon and Watergate took center stage in the theater of the absurd, that there are too few quotable stories going around. Our society seem to have lost its sense of humor--the most important saving grace. Someone once said that a sense of humor is a sign in a person that he sees more sides of a thing than can be soberly and systematically stated. I like to remind young people that the next best thing to solving a problem is to find some humor in it.

In any case, I was given no specific instructions about what I should say here today. So I would like to elaborate on one of the themes I included in my inaugural address four years ago which, incidentally, was also delivered in Saratoga Springs, at the Saratoga Performing Arts Center just a couple of miles from here.

In this regard, I am somewhat like former Supreme Court Justice Felix

Frankfurter. Justice Frankfurter's wife used to say there were two things wrong with her husband as a public speaker. The first was that he always got off the subject; and the second was that he always got back on it again.

In my inaugural address, I said it was my purpose to do everything in my power as Commissioner of Education to make the educational system more humanistic, to enlarge educational opportunities for all the people of this State, each according to his or her interests and abilities. The overarching objective of New York's total educational enterprise, I added, is the liberation of the human spirit, the release of human potential and the celebration of human dignity.

This was, of course, high-risk idealism, for there are always promises to keep, pledges to redeem and miles to go in a society that keeps coming unglued, a society characterized by dissent and rising expectations which outdistance sluggish social institutions. But I believe---and I hope you do too--that education remains the key to dispelling the clouds and the storms, the cynicism toward social institutions, and, most important, the distrust that divides individuals and groups.

There is a Peruvian word I particularly like. It is arribismo. And what it means is an unbridled desire to rise. I find it especially appropriate to describe what is felt by people who have been ignored or treated inequitably within our society--the powerless: the young, the poor, the handicapped, blacks, Puerto Ricans, and,no doubt about it, women.

I need hardly go into detail with this audience about the innumerable affronts to women that have too long been perpetrated by too many people, and this in a nation supposedly founded on the principle that each of its members has an inalienable right to achieve a secure sense of his or her own worth as an individual and as a member of society.

However, to keep things in perspective, I want to point out just a few of the indignities that women have experienced in the past before I go on to assess what is happening today and what should be happening in the near future. As Winston Churchill once said, "The farther and deeper you look back, the more you can see forward."

Male chauvinism is hardly new, of course. It goes back at least to the ancient Greek writer Xenophon, who trusted only dull, docile women. This was to be expected, I suppose, since Xenophon himself was not noted for sheer brilliance. Unfortunately, however, a lot of people who should have known better, thought just like him down through the years. Even Aristotle flatly stated that women were by nature inferior to men. And, it turns out, when Thomas Jefferson declared that "all men are created equal," he meant exactly what he said--_men_. As Casey Stengel says, you can look it up.

With the apparent exception of Abigail Adams, Jefferson disliked brainy women. He thought women should be educated for the sole purpose of becoming better wives and mothers, and he once wrote that the role of women was--and I quote--"to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning ruffled from political debate." In fact, Jefferson, while President, exploded when one of his Cabinet members suggested that women ought to be appointed to public office. "The appointment of a woman to office," Jefferson snorted, "is an innovation for which the public is not prepared, nor am I."

Jefferson was hardly alone in his thinking. Shortly before the American Revolution, the trustees of King's College, the original name of Columbia University, were so hostile to coeducation that they passdd a rule specifying that--quoting them directly--"no Women of any pretence whatever, except a Cook, shall be allowed to reside within the College..." And as late as the 1880's, Melvil Dewey lost his job as librarian at Columbia because he admitted women to the college's School of Library Economy in violation of the trustee's policy.

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Columbia, of course, was no worse than many other colleges and universities. Rather, it was simply representative of a widely held belief a century ago that education might overtax women's minds and result in sterility or insanity, or even both.

In all fairness to members of my sex, let me quickly add that such sweeping assertions have often been challenged by men, as well as by women.

Plato had the good sense to propose in his Republic that "no occupations belong exclusively to either men or women, but as natural abilities will be found here and there in both sexes, so women will be admitted to all pursuits on the same basis as men."

Similarly, Benjamin Rush, one of our great educational pioneers two centuries ago, maintained that women, no less than men, must be educated in the principles of liberty and government if America was to survive as an independent nation after the Revolutionary War.

And, as I am sure many of you know, Matbhew Vassar founded Vassar College because of his strong belief--as he put it in 1861--"that woman, having received from her Creator the same intellectural constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development."

You may also be interested in knowing that another staunch advocate of "female education" as it was called in America's early history, was Aaron Burr. Tradition over the years, and Gore Vidal just recently, have stressed the seamy side of Burr's life. But Burr's letters, especially to his daughter, Theodosia, show that he was determined to prove that a woman could be the intellectual equal of any man if only educational opportunities were evened up.

In Burr's time, educational opportunities were anything but equal. As a result, it was almost impossible for girls to achieve intellectual distinction, no matter how bright they were. In a letter to his wife, Burr wrote in 1793:

> ....I confess that the ideas which you have often heard me express in favour of female intellectual powers are founded on what I have imagined, more than what I have seen, except in you. I have endeavoured to trace the causes of this rare display of genius in women, and find them in errors of education, of prejudice, and of habit. I admit that men are equally, nay more, much more to blame than women. Boys and girls are generally educated much in the same way till they are eight or nine years of age, and it is admitted that girls make at least equal progress with the boys; generally, indeed, they make better. Why, then, has

> it never been thought worth the attempt to discover, by fair experiment, the particular age at which the male superiority becomes so evident?

Burr decided to conduct such an experiment by devising a rigorous plan of private instruction for his daughter, orchestrated by Burr himself since Burr had prepared for admission to Princeton pretty much on his own and even applied to the college at the age of 11. He was turned down, not because he was unqualified, but because he was small in stature and looked so young. In any case, Burr reapplied when he was 13 years old, was accepted this time as a sophomore, and graduated with distinction at the age of 16.

Theodosia never was able to follow her father into Princeton. But Burr was apparently satisfied that he did prove through his daughter what he set out to accomplish. And this was--in Burr's own words--"to convince the world what neither sex appear to believe--that women have souls."

Well, I like to think that the "Burr's-eye veiw" is basically the one taken by educators in New York State. Thought I must say there are still men among us who mourn that, now that women have everything, they want to ad lib. Personally, I am a militant feminist and have been one for a long time. "Lib and let lib" is my motto. And I also believe --as I once told a national group of high school athletic directors--that "a Ms. is as good as a male."

I am not suggesting, of course, that we have done everything that should have been done to eradicate sex bias in our educational system. We still have a long way to go to give real meaning to the goal of providing equal educational and employment opportunities to women. Let me mention some examples of continuing inequities:

In New York State, nearly sixty percent of the professional staff of the public schools is made up of women. However, less than one percent of the school superintendents are women.

Nationally, the number of women on college and university faculties increased by less than one percent--from 19.1 percent to 20 percent--between 1968 and 1973. The situation in this State is somewhat better. There was an increase of about 11 percent for tenured women faculty members between 1970 and 1973. But this is still not a big enough increase to satisfy me.

Moreover, the number of women in

key administrative posts remains far too small. As a matter of fact, even in the women's colleges, once the bastions of female leadership in higher education, more and more men, rather than women, are being selected as presidents and deans.

However, having said these things, I think you should know that the Board of Regents and the State Education Department are taking specific steps to make sure that remaining inequities are eliminated once and for all.

For example, the Regents issued an important policy statement a little more than two years ago on Equal Opportunity for Women. This statement was part of a continuing series of Position Papers in which the Regents give high public visibility to their priority concerns and chart a course of action to improve education.

This Position Paper stated clearly the Board's strong belief that career patterns have changed too little and that women continue to be victimized by sexual stereotyping. And education itself, as the Regents pointed out, is largely to blame. Ouoting from the Position Paper:

> The educational system is clearly responsible for perpetuating discriminatory attitudes toward women. Educators themselves have been as much the victims and purveyors of cultural attitudes injurious to women's rights as anyone else.

Instead of challenging prejudices head-on in the curriculum and in their own administrative policies, the schools too often reinforce stereotyped images of women and the role women should play in society. As a result, girls' aspirations are limited at an early age, and the full development of their talents is thwarted. Vocational education is a conspicuous example. There are many good-paying jobs in technical fields that should be open to women. But girls are not encouraged to prepare for such jobs. Rather, they are channeled into supposedly female occupations like clerical work, which are often low-paying and repetitive. This is one situation in particular that has to be turned around quickly so women will be assured of access to a complete range of employment opportunities on an even footing with men.

In the Position Paper, the Regents urged prompt implementation of three specific actions which I want to describe briefly:

1. Educational institutions should develop affirmative action plans, including

realistic numerical goals and timetables for the recruitment and promotion of women in professional and managerial positions.

2. Elementary and secondary schools should end sexual stereotyping by changing instructional materials, conducting in-service training of educational personnel, and seeing that all courses of study--especially trade and technical courses--are open to both boys and girls.

3. Colleges and universities should increase opportunities for women, whether as students or as faculty members and administrators, in various ways. There must be no quota limitations that would impede the admission of women to coeducational colleges, universities and professional schools. Student loans, scholarships and fellowships must be available without regard to sex. Postsecondary institutions

must be particularly responsive to the needs of women whose education was interrupted because of marriage and family responsibilities, by providing special programs and scheduling courses at times convenient to women with children. Moreover, in order to encourage women to pursue careers as faculty members or administrators, there should be specific provisions authorizing maternity leaves and guaranteeing that women will be able to resume their jobs without any kind of penalty, whether in regard to salary, tenure, or whatever.

Implementation of the Regents policy must begin in the Education Department, of course, since the Department is the Regents administrative arm. So let me tell you some of the things we have been doing to promote full and equal employment opportunities for women throughout the Department.

I have made every Department member aware through regular communications, in staff meetings and in other ways, that I want to see steady growth toward equitable employment of women, especially in responsible professional positions. I have said many times over that there are no jobs in the Education Department that women are inherently unable to perform if they are adequately educated and trained. And I have also declared that we should expect women not only to compete with men, but also to achieve equally with men.

As a matter of policy, we are now giving deliberate selective consideration to women, as well as minorities, consistent with the overall objective of appointing and promoting the best qualified individuals to all Department positions. All persons are being judged on individual ability without reference to artifical standards or requirements which are not job-related. We are engaging in imaginative and aggressive recruitment from sources of eligible applicants who have not been specifically sought before. And I have established a two-year goal, to be achieved by next September, which provides for the appointment of women to at least one-third of the vacancies occurring at Grade 27 and above departmentwide. This is our beginning supervisory level. All permanent and provisional appointments are subject to this goal. We are measuring our progress toward attaining the goal at six-month intervals, with special reference to identifying factors that might be impeding progress and to recommending possible solutions.

By the way, the latest report shows

that women were appointed to about one-quarter of the upper-level positions in the Department between September of 1973 and the beginning of this month. So there is still some distance to go.

As a related consideration, a Department Task Force on Equal Opportunity for Women was appointed in February of 1973. I am sure many of you know the exceptionally able chairperson of the task force, Vivienne Anderson, the Department's Assistant Commissioner for Instructional Services. The task force is responsible for recommending to me specific steps to achieve our objectives of ending stereotyping in instruction, creating equal access for women in higher education and professional training, and equalizing opportunities throughout the education profession.

Task force activities during the last

eighteen months have included sponsorship of successful "open door" meetings for all staff personnel interested in the problems facing women in education and how these problems can be corrected. These open door sessions have led to the creation of several ad hoc committees to explore such areas as job opportunities in education, sexual stereotyping in the schools, equal opportunity in higher education, and affirmative action programs. In addition, the task force is now developing a career advancement plan for the Department. The plan was discussed in depth last June at a meeting of thirty-five or so top members of the Department, and I have subsequently appointed a special committee to advance this effort. I'll never forget the day I appointed the first woman assistant commissioner in the Department's history. Connie Cook, Assemblywoman and Chairperson of the

Assembly Education Committee, sent me a vase with a single orchid in it.

Beyond these developments, there are other signs of progress elsewhere that also ought to be mentioned at least briefly.

The number of women being admitted to graduate and professional schools in increasing steadily. Two years ago, women made up 12.8 percent of first-year medical students nationally. This fall, the figure is 16.8 percent. Similarly, the number of women attending law schools has almost doubled in the last few years, from roughly 8,900 in 1971 to about 16,800 in 1973.

Programs and courses in women's studies are also on the rise in colleges and universities. There are an estimated 2,000 such courses nationally. Eight postsecondary institutions in New York State offer women's studies programs, and many more have at least some courses in this area.

Private colleges throughout this State have been developing their own affirmative action plans, while the State University system has required that its institutions not only have affirmative action plans, but also designate an affirmative action officer for each campus.

In addition, the Federal government is getting ready to implement tough new rules to prohibit sex bias in the treatment of students and employees of educational institutions in much the same way that other Federal laws ban discrimination on the basis of a person's race, religion or national origin. These proposed regulations were made public by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a few months ago to carry out Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and should take effect shortly, although I must say that I hope some changes are made before they become effective.

The proposed regulations are far-reaching. For example, they will prohibit medical and law schools from setting quotas to limit the number of women students they enroll. They will open home economics and industrial arts courses to both sexes. They will ban any clubs or societies which admit only members of one sex if such clubs and societies are supported financially by the educational institution. They will fully equalize hiring and promotion between the sexes. They will provide for more liberal policies pertaining to pregnant schoolgirls. And they will ensure coed gym classes and comparable interscholastic sports programs for boys and girls--something which I think is long overdue.

Just parenthetically, I believe these new regulations will have somewhat less impact on New York than on other states, since we have long emphasized equality for women in such areas as sports, physical education and accessibility to courses. But I am delighted to see the Federal government take such a strong stand.

However, rules alone are not enough. We still need to bring about profound changes in people's attitudes. For too long now, men have marveled at the achievements of only truly exceptional women, someone, say like Babe Didrikson, who was not only a golf and Olympic track-and-field champion, but also a talented dancer, musician, cook, typist and great gin rummy player. But men have simultaneously underestimated the abilities of women in general. This has to stop, and stop now, and nothing succeeds like success. Not all women are Babe Didriksons, any more than all men are Babe Ruths. As one woman writer recently said--and I fully support her on this--"Equality is not when a female

Einstein gets promoted to assistant professor; equality is when a female schlemiel moves ahead as fast as a male schlemiel."

Well, the only way we are going to achieve the understanding that is required to change the way people think is for all of us--men and women alike--to find common ground for working together in a spirit of cooperation and mutual trust. As Commissioner of Education, I keep reminding my staff that we can succeed in our jobs only if we remember what Tolstoi once said: men think there are conditions when one may deal with human beings without love; but there are none. There is no such thing as"competence without love." Trust, which is informed confidence, and tenderness help immeasurably in forming a humane community. And today we need more than ever to make our community more humane. I am sure that this is what women today are trying to tell the men.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:
ILLUSION OR REALITY?

by

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The five-year history of affirmative action in American universities can best be characterized as a retreat. The scenario, as I see it, was directed by the opponents to affirmative action. These groups moved from a vigorous battle against the establishment of goals(which they labeled "quotas"), to a refusal to report or allow reporting on the current composition of college faculties,(which they considered an"invasion of civil liberties")to organized action to counteract what they advertised was "reverse discrimination." Taking the initiative those who opposed affirmative action were well organized and well conneeted and successfully turned what loomed as a battle into a minor skirmish. They cleverly created the illusion that there was something happening which warranted organized opposition and resistance. The _N.Y. Times_ and other magazines and papers reported that the Lester study "proved that minority hiring hurt the colleges" by lowering standards. As Sheila Tobias notes, there is no data in the book to substantiate the _Times_' conclusion. Actually Lester predicts that "is what would happen _if_ affirmative action programs are carried out."* The success of the opposition was at least in part due to the fact that affirmative action was an outgrowth of the 60's, but was in fact a program of the 1970's. Its history represents the general retreat of American society from a major thrust toward equality in the 1960's to a neo-Social Darwinism in the 1970's.

*Lester, Richard, _Anti Bias Regulation of Universities._ McGraw Hill, 1974.

The politics of affirmative action in higher education is worthy of extensive analysis. The campaign mounted by established faculty groups against the concept of affirmative action hinged on a defense of the special status of the university and its commitment to academic excellence. The need to preserve the independence of faculty judgment and autonomy would not abide accountability or review by any outside agency. Not even the college administration was considered competent to review faculty decisions. This self-proclaimed meritocracy in the university was to be preserved at all costs, and only those who created and operated the system were considered capable of judging its performance.

The Committee for a Rational Alternative, organized originally to oppose student demands in the 1960's, provided a hard core of university faculty who set their task as preservation of the traditions of the university. These were the same people who wanted to protect the university from other outside pressures for change, including open-admissions, increased student participation in policymaking, and a concern for community. The university, they held, must remain insulated from the demands of extraneous social forces. General faculty opposition to affirmative action was probably not as widespread as that vociferous but well organized minority led everyone to believe. (A 1972-73 survey of college faculty, for instance, indicated that 32 percent of the male faculty and 42 percent of the female faculty favored preferential hiring of women at their univeristies.) However, the lack of power, organization, and perhaps leadership among those who might have supported affirmative action, was a significant factor in their lack of influence.

There was, however, the pressure of outside agents, Office of Civil Rights and Health, Education and Welfare, state and city human rights agencies, and the organized demands of feminist and civil rights groups. These groups were met head on by the opposition within the university and became entangled in the politics and bureaucracy of the university.

Official requirements presented a direct threat to established procedures. Federal guidelines set standards to be met and required the development of plans and goals. The first step necessary to meet the Federal guidelines was the presentation of statistical data which would establish a college profile and establish base line data for evaluation of progress. Resistance to data collection was manifest in college faculty council resolutions prohibiting the identification of faculty members by race and background. Hamstrung by a general lack of historical information and an inability to develop traditional reporting techniques, what appeared to be a simple first step became a major undertaking.

Ironically, when statistical data was collected and presented, critics commented on the lack of thoroughness of the data. Inevitably the people who demanded more extensive data to substantiate conclusions were those who impeded the data collection process. A group of critics persistently deny that any amount of statistical data justifies a conclusion that discrimination exists and/or it demonstrates inequity. Richard Lester's study for Carnegie Foundation, which almost stereotypically emobodies all of the opposition arguments, takes major pains to explore every possible extraneous reason to explain why women are not mobile on college faculties, refusing at every turn to accept his own data as proof that the only reasonable explanation is a pattern of discrimination. A study in any other area of economics which so abused its data would be summarily dismissed. Presenting data which shows a decline in the percentage of female faculty in four-year and two-year colleges, in comparing 1968-69 to 1972-73, and admitting that the increase in female Ph.D.'s would warrant increased hiring at least at the beginning levels, he persists in denying any adverse policies within the university. Although much of his argument in the study eschews statistical evidence, he, in turn, criticizes HEW staffing patterns noting that:

> Women, and especially blacks, are over-represented among the staff members in the Higher Education Division.

On June 30, 1974, about
one-half (35 were men,
about 3/5 (43) were
members of minorities
...)

This kind of duplicity in the interpretation of the relevance of data pervades all discussions of affirmative action on and off the campus; it has dissipated energies on questions of what the data means rather then directing attention to how we can improve the outputs. Guideline requirements which call for goals and tables have been the most troublesome. There is great resistance to the suggestion that any change is necessary no less to a specific commitment to recruit more women over a period of time. Such seemingly simple procedural practices, such as open advertisement of positions, or reporting on interviews conducted, are also considered infringements on the prerogatives of academic departments. In many colleges, junior department faculty members are not even aware that positions are open and recruitment is taking place. Changes in procedures threaten to open up decision making to a much wider group within a department. Any extra burden for faculty and chairpersons in reporting is rejected not only on the ground of preserving faculty independence, but because of the burden of the extra paper work which will be required.

The negative reactions to meeting Federal guidelines suggest real concern about the disruption of the distribution of power in the university. What once appeared to be simple adjustments in procedure under affirmative action plans were, in fact, major changes in the operation of a closed political institution. It is no wonder that the process of developing plans was drawn out, and that of the 197 affirmative action plans submitted to HEW, only

30 were given interim or final approval. In the New York metropolitan region, only 5 plans have been approved to date. Presuming all of the hurdles I have described can be overcome, the preparation and presentation of a plan may have no direct bearing on implementation. The Office of Civil Rights can only perform "on-site" compliance reviews with regard to goals, after the plans have been approved. How effectively universities will enforce these stated goals remains to be determined, but the evidence one can observe to date is not promising.

In 1972 I naively and optimistically suggested at the American Council in Education meeting on "Women in Higher Education" that affirmative action could work only if every college engaged its entire community in the process, from the initial job of gathering data to the implementation of the plan. I further said, however, that without strongly committed college presidents, who would exercise leadership, little would happen. Unfortunately, there are very few presidents willing to take the initiative I was looking for, and most important, I greatly underestimated the resistance of the faculty, which dug its heels in on the issue. I also underestimated forces outside the immediate college community who were to become strong allies in opposing action. An intellectual and ideological army set the parameters of the battle. Professor Bikel of Yale, who had provided the constitutional justification for abandoning busing and the Brown decision, and had given the constitutional arguments for preserving executive privilege in the matter of Nixon's tapes, emerged as the law brief writer and chief legal advisor in the DeFunis case and the intellectual leader of the "reverse discrimination" movement. His colleagues had started the reaction early in the struggle with a series of articles in Commentary and Public Interest which challenged affirmative action on ideological and practical grounds, and now the legal argument was presented for testing. Although the Court officially by-passed the DeFunis case, its impact has been to reinforce the retreat and retrenchment on affirmative action issues. Throughout the country, State education departments, colleges and universities are abandoning programs which were designed to compensate for generations of inequity. Outside groups have more freely and successfully attacked programs which treat minorities and women preferentially. Students, who in the 1960's were calling for affirmative action in their own terms, removed themselves from the controversy. Such efforts, which dealt particularly with what Lester calls the supply side of the issue (increasing the availability of qualified minority and women candidates) are now seriously threatened. The retreat I spoke of is especially notable in this area. In the case of women, we can anticipate even further rationalization for a backward thrust when Title IX is implemented. Guidelines indicate that special programs for women students will not be accepted. Already we have had to answer charges of discrimination against men in the creation of women's centers, special counseling programs and continuing education projects. The idea of compensation for past sexist practices has been all but abandoned. The ideological justification for retreat is manifest in charges of "reverse discrimination." Given the political and budget climate of universities throughout the country, it seems reasonable to predict continued withdrawal of special programs, greater reluctance to adopt any new projects and pronounced losses in the area of minority and female recruitment and hiring practices.

Data is not available on a comparative basis, but the people I have spoken to on various campuses seem to agree that the pressure is off. Women and Blacks hired within the last three years are not being kept on. Affirmative action recruitment efforts, they claim, are weakened largely because there are so few new positions to fill.[2]

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[2] The Status of Women Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education Institutions NEA, April 1973 ERIC 080-034

However, the proportion of faculty who are women has increased by ten percentage points at the instructor level, while it has decreased at each of the higher ranks over this period...'

Faculty Rank	% of Faculty that are Women 1959-60	1965-66	1971-72
All Ranks	19.1	18.4	19.0
Professor	9.9	8.7	8.6
Associate Professor	17.5	15.1	14.6
Assistant Professor	21.7	19.4	20.7
Instructor	29.3	32.5	39.4

In 1972, I saw the role of Federal agencies like the Office of Civil Rights and Health, Education and Welfare as instrumental in helping move our institutions toward desired changes in practices and procedures. You may remember that the first series of charges and class action suits had developed at that time. In looking at the experience of the last 3 or 4 years however, in contrast to Lester's evaluation, the Federal agencies have had to back off their tough line and have caused the universities little more than clerical concerns. In questioning the people in the New York Regional Office about their perception of their achievements in this period, they openly admit a limited role. They respond to complaints and initiate no action. They are understaffed and unable to respond to all of the complaints which are made; their backlog is impressive. The Rutgers salary differential adjustment is their major accomplishment to date. They consider that for women, their own emphasis has been on promotions and salary adjustments as compared to hiring for minorities.

The report[3] also presents the following salary data over the same 12 year period:

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[3] Ibid, NEA, April 1973 ERIC 080-034

Median salary of women as a percentage of men's salary

1959-60	1965-66	1971-72
84.9%	83.4%	82.5%

As I indicated, the dearth of historical data prevents careful analysis of trends, but from personal experience and observation, it appears that budget pressures and reduced concern with affirmative action have combined to produce a retreat on hiring and retention of women. Obviously, the last hired are the first to be let go, and in most colleges this means minorities and women. It will be interesting to test my prediction as comparative data does get submitted. I am suspicious that loosely constructed plans and worn out affirmative action committees will soon give evidence of more extensive surrender. Without continued outside pressure and support from official government agencies and pressure groups, the battle will be completely lost.

All of the current data that I have seen, with the exception of the very few successfully negotiated class action suits, show little change in the status of women in the university. For almost two years, I served on a City University of New York Chancellor's Advisory Committee on the status of women which prepared an extensive documentation of problems within the University.[4]

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[4] Chancellor's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women Report. The Status of Women at the City University of New York: Report to the Chancellor. The City University of New York, Dec. 1972.

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That report recommended some 30 odd policy changes to correct inequities in the system. One would assume that an in-house group of such high status, appointed by the Chancellor, would have some impact. On the contrary, only two of our proposals were adopted by the University, although the report itself has become the basis of a class action suit by the CUNY Women's Coalition. Although the Chancellor correctly and reasonably admitted that CUNY, like all other institutions in American society suffered from sexist practices, his counsel presses on with the development of a legal case to deny that fact.

For me, the failure of that Committee to achieve even limited goals was proof that my 1972 statement was naive and that change would not take place if the univeristy was left to its own endeavors. In our own case, there was strong support amd commitment from the highest officer in the Univerity, a broadly representative women's committee (of non-feminists,I might add) and what I would consider a rational presentation of the facts. Yet the Committee has produced no action. The Committee met last spring to evaluate its effort, and concluded we had made a major investment of time and energy with little output to show for it. It is clear, that the class action suit of CUNY women does indeed present a major threat to the university, but it is a financial threat. If the court determines that salaries of women indeed must be adjusted, it will place an enormous financial burden on the University at a time when it can least afford it. That will not, however, in my opinion, change the sexist practices at CUNY. It will not encourage recruitment of more qualified women, or guarantee equal pay, or change procedures which now deny women

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important decision making powers in the university. Far more important in the long run would be the establishment of vital affirmative action committees on the campuses and their constant attention to overseeing practices on a continuing basis. In the few rare instances of colleges which have serious commitment to affirmative action, changes in procedures and review practices have, I am told, resulted in more universal recruitment, improved hiring practices and the choice of a wider group of more qualified candidates across the board. Hiring and promotions no longer are narrowly held decisions based on the old crony system, and "merit" has indeed become more operational as the criterion for judgments. An added reward is more extensive participation of faculty in the policy process, and democratization of departmental governance structures. For those of us who saw affirmative action as an instrument for institutional change in the broadest possible terms, those were the results we anticipated. Sexist and discriminatory practices would necessarily fall by the wayside in an open democratic system where people are held accountable for their actions.

I suspect that my rather broad definition of affirmative action is a factor in my current pessimism. The proposition was, as I saw it, one of basic institutional change-- a revision of the decision making process which would broaden participation and protect against abuse of power. Affirmative action has become instead a limited response to a series of individual complaints. Class action suits represent the only continued pressure and negotiated settlements sidetrack larger issues for correction of past inequities. We appear to have lost the concept of a broader plan for institutional change. The complete failure of the university to respond to the issue, to rise to the occasion and set standards that the rest of society can look to, is disheartening in itself. The retreat from earlier commitments and from long range goals makes affirmative action in the university nothing more than an illusion.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:
MYTH OR REALITY?

by

Esther Kronovet

Nassau Community College

My approach to this question differs from that of my co-panelist with respect to the degree of importance I attach to studying short term goals as a way of assessing change. In fact, I would like to suggest that it is only by assessing progress in relation to specific areas that we can achieve any sense of movement.

Perhaps it is a sad commentary on the impact of affirmative action to find it so necessary to limit one's parameters and to identify short stepping stones within these in order to ascertain that we have gained anything at all. However, being an optimist by nature, I refuse to lose sight of any potential indicator of an upward trend. In fact,I would like to highlight three categories during today's session since these signify to me the foundation from which changes are most likely to spring with respect to hiring policies and practices. I would also urge you to keep track of what is happening in higher education across the country regarding these indicators: (1) the hiring of affirmative action officers, (2) the establishment of affirmative action committees, and (3) the filing of written affirmative action plans with HEW.

I am of the opinion that the Affirmative Action Officer is the key figure in coping with issues related to change through affirmative action. For this reason, I initiated a study in 1973 with a follow-up in 1974 to acquire more information about the hiring and role of "managers" of affirmative action programs. The 1973 findings,[1] based upon a 100% return of a questionnaire completed by 58 public institutions throughout New York State, indicated that most institutions view affirmative action responsibilities as collateral duties; further, that some had not appointed individuals to function as Affirmative Action Officers. The fulltime job titles of those individuals functioning in this role ranged from College President to Personnel Director.

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[1] Esther Kronovet, "Affirmative Action Plan Criteria," Research in Education, Dec., 1973.

One year later, in the fall of 1974, I conducted a follow-up study among the same 58 institutions, which included 14 four-year colleges, 38 community colleges and six agricultural and technical schools. The purposes were to determine (1) whether there has been any change in the perception of the position of Affirmative Action Officer, (2) the turnover rate among those assigned affirmative action responsibility, (3) the utilization of affirmative action committees, and (4) whether the productivity of the "managers" of affirmative action has resulted in an affirmative action plan on file with HEW. Responses to the questionnaire were received from fifty-five (94.8%) institutions and indicate the following trends:

1. Among the four-year institutions, there was an increase in the number of individuals with fulltime affirmative action responsibility as distinct from collateral activity. In 1974, seven (50.0%) of these institutions had appointed fulltime affirmative action officers, whereas there was only one (7.1%) in 1973. An increase from 0.0% to 33.0% occurred among the agricultural and technical institutions. There was no increase within the community colleges.

2. Those individuals assigned affirmative action responsibility on a collateral basis continue to have fulltime job titles that cover a range of positions within the institution's table of organization:

    - President
    - Vice President of the Arts
    - Dean of the College
    - Academic Dean
    - Dean of Administration
    - Associate Dean of Instruction
    - Associate Professor
    - Director of Institutional Research
    - Associate Dean of Faculty Personnel
    - Associate Dean of Administration
    - Director of Employee Relations
    - Personnel Director
    - Director of Grants

Assistant to the President

At three (5.5%) institutions a faculty member was assigned the role of Affirmative Action Officer in addition to teaching.

3. There was a 32.7% turnover rate from 1973 to 1974 among individuals assigned affirmative action responsibility.
4. Affirmative action committees have been organized on most (72.7%) campuses. Appointments to this committee are made by President (45.4%), Affirmative Action Officer (3.6%), both President and Affirmative Action Officer (7.3%), Academic Senate (5.5%), President and Academic Senate (5.5%), or through other systems that include divisional or departmental elections (7.3%).

5. At most institutions (60.0%) affirmative action plans are "in preparation," while 30.0% have plans "on file" with HEW and/or the central office charged with equal employment opportunity for the City University of New York or State University of New York. Very few (3.6%) have not started working on an affirmative action plan.

These results suggest to me that one of the reasons enforcement agencies are so backlogged is that there has been minimal action within colleges and universities to implement the requirements of Executive Orders, thereby leading to an increase in class and individual complaints. Recent reports demonstrate that within institutions academic departments are not only male dominated, but some continue to be totally male in the composition of its faculty.[2]

There is little doubt that the most essential ingredient in bringing about any change is that of commitment. Despite legislation and Executive Orders, the fact remains that although we can prohibit discriminatory practices, the same does not hold for attitudes and feelings of prejudice toward any group or groups of individuals. If attitude modification is to take place, strategies for change must be channeled toward both attitudinal and action levels. This constitutes quite a challenge for the Affirmative Action Officer as a change agent. However, the position within the institution's table of organization from which he or she functions becomes a determining factor in the degree of influence that can be exercised. Again, this assumes commitment and there is no way of assessing the degree of importance attached to this in the selection of the institution's Affirmative Action Officer. Nor does it appear that the professional qualifications needed for preparing, analyzing, and implementing an affirmative action plan have been sufficiently studied and defined; otherwise, it is unlikely that there would be such a range of unrelated job titles among those responsible for affirmative action.

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[2] "Berkeley Plan Could End Hiring Bias in 30 Years," The New York Times, March 5, 1975, p.36.

The turnover rate among these "managers" during the course of one year is, I believe, also worthy of note. Although it is difficult to arrive at conclusions, some interesting possibilities lend themselves to speculation. One interpretation is that not all individuals appointed were equipped through educational background, training, and experience to be sufficiently productive in this role. A second possibility is that the institution's internal struggles over governance are so intense that there is less receptivity among faculty for accepting the decision-making role of the Affirmative Action Officer, thereby rendering this position ineffective. A third possibility is that the individual was "drafted" to carry out this function and is all too eager to relinquish the role as soon as material has been filed with HEW. (It should be noted here that I have received from other colleges copies of affirmative action plans that are a brief statement of intent rather than a comprehensive analysis of employment practices and goals.)

Finally, it is important to consider the nature of the position itself and the pressures to which the "manager" is subjected. On the one hand, the Federal government has established a set of demands upon the institution. To respond to these stirs up the vested interests of different racial, religious and ethnic groups, as well as the anxiety level of white males who see affirmative action as constituting a restraining force in future employment and the rate at which they can progress up the institution's ladder.

Superimposed upon the confusion generated within colleges and universities due to lack of experience with affirmative action is the fact that HEW has not generated the kinds of firm requirements and timetables that facilitate the preparation and submission of an affirmative action plan. This government has also been delinquent in its failure to establish clear cut criteria for what constitutes an acceptable plan according to HEW standards. A simple format in its Higher Education Guidelines would certainly go a long way in facilitating the efficient preparation of affirmative action plans.

Another problem related to HEW's expectation that institutions maintain records on job applicants based on race and ethnicity. To require this information of applicants can also be interpreted as a violation of civil rights. However, if a request for this information is optional and many applicants choose not to comply, these data become meaningless.

The tendency of HEW to request data that is not available further frustrated individuals and slows down the preparation of an affirmative action plan. For example, information on the number of minorities and women represented in different fields of specialization was not available when the HEW _Higher Education Guidelines_ first appeared in print. In fact, trying to track down this information sometimes required contacting a variety of separate organizations. Not infrequently such explorations led to a dead end because funds had run dry for their grants to study this question, and so data was not available. Although HEW has now published some of this information, there continue to be many statistical gaps.

Lastly, HEW could help the Affirmative Action Officer and others concerned with equal opportunity by defining terms that appear throughout the Guidelines and which seem to have special meaning for those in government office. For example, it is indicated that institutions that received $50,000 or more in Federal contracts and have 50 or more employees shall file a written affirmative action plan. However, HEW fails to differentiate between contracts and grants. Only within the last few months has a statement about this matter been prepared by the equal opportunity office for State University of New York.

One final problem comes to mind and this has to do with affirmative action outreach programs for religious and ethnic minorities. Although there is a statement in the Federal Register[3] that clearly indicates that affirmative action programs embrace religious and ethnic minorities, HEW has failed to take a position with regard to the inclusion of these groups in affirmative action plans. It is clear to me that unless a position is articulated by HEW, this will continue to be a source of confusion among those concerned with equal opportunity and will only serve to ignore an issue that prevails within many ivory towers; namely, religious discrimination.

This overflow of unresolved problems, along with the fact that only 30% of the institutions surveyed have plans "on file" with HEW and/or the appropriate office of CUNY or SUNY Central, certainly tells us that affirmative action remains in something of a twilight zone. But, that is not to say that some progress hasn't been made in higher education. The results of my study indicate that more affirmative action officers are being appointed and are functioning in this role in a fulltime capacity. Further, there is a substantial increase in the number of affirmative action committees. Depending upon how members are selected and where these committees fit within the structure of college and university governance, I believe they can develop a powerful role in generating policies that promote equal opportunity.

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[3] Federal Register, Vol 38, No. 13, January 19, 1973.

Today, with the low turnover rate among faculty, increasing numbers of Ph.D.'s and shrinking budgets, affirmative action goals will continue to be achieved at a snail's pace. But, this also means that with every new job line it is incumbent upon the Affirmative Action Officer to make each opening really count in terms of opportunity for minorities and women. Ultimately, good faith efforts must be supported by statistics if colleges and universities are to meet their responsibilities to society. Only then will our aspirations for equal opportunity become a reality.

WOMEN'S STUDIES

by

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Three organizational models have developed in women's studies. These are: (1) a separate department: (2) a separate program utilizing only interdisciplinary courses or courses taught within departments (not Women's Studies); (3) a separate program using regular courses but with special Women's Studies courses. Ordinarily these consist at least in an introductory course and a final seminar. Much of the discussion in regard to organization centers around the question of having a separate department. Some advantages of a departmental organization are that it provides jobs for young professors who would have trouble getting positions in more traditionally organized departments. In addition, it gives them a separate power base and a means of obtaining recognition in the university and within their own department. However, there are disadvantages: it may be considered a "ghetto" and, should all courses reach the halcyon stage of integrating material on women into their syllabus, then a separate "Women's Studies" Department might also wither.

Until quite recently there was little formal training available for those teaching Women's Studies. Faculty became involved because of their interest in the subject, and the faculty members who have taught in these courses have felt that they learned about their field as a whole as well as their field in terms of women's role in it. Many of them found great personal satisfaction in confronting issues and working with female colleagues in many disciplines. Some common problems which might be summarized as standards, scholarship, and style exist. Many persons are opposed to any "further erosion" of university standards and see Women's Studies as yet another three credit rip-off, which does not have serious requirements in the way of reading and writing. The serious scholar may find it difficult to find anything at a high level as yet written in a particular field and may pose legitimate questions about the trivial or unscholarly nature of the material which is being produced. The style of certain members of the women's groups may be unpalatable. To the extent that Women's Studies is associated with lesbians, anti-male attitudes, and uncritical support for women's movement activities, the establishment of an academic program may be hindered. Two groups of women scholars are adversely affected. First, the woman scholar whose field of interest and specialization is far removed from Women's Studies. She chooses to dwell in eighteenth century Persian miniatures and resents being told she should teach about women; secondly, the woman scholar in the field of Women's Studies who is not sufficiently a "feminist" or at least not as defined by other members of the college community is also affected.

Students are involved in the setting up and maintenance of Women's Studies programs in important ways. In a recent survey of college freshmen, students stated that what they wanted from their college experience were courses which were vocation-oriented, interdisciplinary and "made sense" of material which was disparate in time and subject matter, and interesting within their own sense of what was important to them.

Women's Studies is extremely valuable to women students, for unless a woman student is, in fact, made aware of her potential and her history, she may never overcome what Matina Horner has called "the fear of success" sufficiently to be able to enter the job market in any kind of important capacity. Women's Studies courses are interesting and exciting and when a teacher is vitally interested and active in her particular area of research, the classroom usually reflects such an attitude.

Some of the fields in which impressive research is being done in Women's Studies include history, sociology, economics, urban planning, psychology, anthropology, the arts, communication, philosophy, religion, and biology. No doubt other fields are responding to the demands of students, graduate and undergraduate, and to faculty, for such courses.

Another benefit which comes from Women's Studies is that within a given institution, a Women's Studies Program provides an important way to guarantee that at least part of the affirmative action guidelines are met. One hopes that this is a goal of every university and, even if it isn't, the "monitoring" aspect of such a program is valuable. In the negative sense, the Women's Studies Program often becomes a place for the "otherwise-minded," like Rhode Island in the 17th century. Frequently it is a place where women teachers are involved in affirmative action suits against the university for promotion or tenure. Scholars, women as well as men, must confront the reality of the promotion and tenure-granting procedures, and, since the competence of most scholars is limited to their own specialties, frequently political or ideological judgments exist.

Women's Studies has the potential for future growth and change. For example, Women's Studies could and should be carried over into the entire curriculum for primary, elementary, and secondary schools. In addition, we might consider requiring a course in Women's Studies before graduates are allowed to teach at these levels. This would be similar to current requirements that courses in minority groups must be taken for certification.

Another area for future development is that of counseling. Students who have had "their consciousness raised" (that is, been made aware, been educated, led into new ways of looking at themselves and their society, which is a desirable goal of most institutions of higher learning), need competent counseling about what to do next. A student of mine came up to say she had enjoyed the course. "Thanks to you, Dr. Welter, I have left my husband and am now the sole support of my three children; what should I do next?" The professor of history in literature is not a competent counselor. It is most important that there be somewhere to send the student, and that individual teachers in their own specialities familiarize themselves not only with the number of counseling services available but also with the caliber of such services, and that they take action if, for example, their newly awakened students are told by the counselor to train themselves as secretaries.

Furthermore, in many colleges, career-counseling and guidance curriculum programs are neglected areas for Women's Studies. Yet these people are going to be important in making many decisions for young women, and it is most important that they be educated to the history and status and potential of women.

In the future, those in Women's Studies need to become more aware of the locus of power. Know your own department, university, and take positions which bring power and budget. This is true in the professions as well as in the university. If your particular field is not one represented in Women's Studies, all the more reason to try and rise in traditional departments, especially since more is being done for the part-time woman faculty member. It is most important to seize the day and have full-time and extra-time faculty members who assume roles of leadership within the university. Should there be a diminution in Women's Studies, they will be in key positions to protect the field and the individuals.

If Women's Studies is to remain viable, we must be able to learn from the past....

this is a special plea from the historian. Study what went wrong with other women's movements. Look at the "roads not taken" and the choices that led to premature exultation. Why were the gains of earlier women's movements not more lasting and more deep-rooted? Insist that, in the midst of the necessary activism of a Women's Studies curriculum, some time be taken for reflection on the past. History is more than one big historical analogy, but "The past is prologue" is not a bad motto. It is also important that objectivity be maintained in at least two areas. First, a Women's Studies classroom is often a refuge for students who want to rap, not read, and the personal history and life style of the professor are seen as equally or possibly more important than the course material. If there is valid subject matter, then the personal element can be muted or directed to other areas of the Women's Studies curriculum, or to the counseling staff or simply to after-classroom conversation. One of my friends complains that in her course on Women in Literature the students want to talk about Me and My Boyfriend, not Romeo and Juliet. Secondly, have a "watchdog" committee. Two facets are needed: first, a committee made up of scholars in different disciplines within the college which, simply because members are sober, decent, hard-working types gives instant respectability to the program; and second, provide for a continuing review of the program by outside evaluators who are respected scholars in the field and who not only assure respectability but also provide a necessary and valuable impetus to define goals and methods and techniques for achieving them.

Finally, there are three basic recommendations for starting a program. First, "know thyself." You must have an understanding of what strengths and weaknesses exist within your own institution. Do not, simply because the Sociology of Women is an interesting field, think someone not trained in it should "work it up" in order to give luster to your program. Familiarize yourself with the writings of the people who work in your college and prepare a syllabus and bibliography of impeccable academic calibre as part of your request. If your women's groups are largely ideological, then devise a program which reflects this. If they are largely academic, get a program which reflects that interest. Each campus has its own student and faculty gestalt.

Second, "know thy enemy." Study

the opposition and meet their objections but do not deny them. It is perfectly true that much of women's history is trash, but as a scholar in the field of history, it is your business to sift until you find solid research, concise writing, and viable hypothesis--just what is necessary in any field. Source material must always be interpreted. It is particularly valuable if one important administrator can be involved in the planning stages and can, to some degree, take responsibility for the program. Again, each campus has separate problems and needs a separate program.

Third, use the experiences of others when they support what you feel best suits your needs; reject them or reform them when you feel you should. Innovative teaching and innovative methodology may or may not be part of a Women's Studies program. My own feeling is that they should not be mandated, but that the nature of the subject, of the college climate, and of the individual professor's style, determines the form of teaching and, to a degree, the kind of methodology which works.

WOMEN AND THE LAW

Bernice Sandler believes that "sex discrimination is the last socially acceptable form of discrimination and it still is rampant in academia." She finds that women faculty, women staff members, and women students are continually confronted with sex bias that limits their opportunities for choice and for advancement. Recognition of this powerful bias operated to lower women's aspirations between the freshman and senior year and adversely affects their plans for the future.

This presentation reviews the provision in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, whose regulations forbid sex discrimination against students and employees in any educational program receiving federal financial assistance. Title IX regulations effect text book usage, curriculum, athletic expenditures, admissions policies, financial aid policies, and affirmative action structures on the campus.

These remarks were based on the proposed Title IX Regulations. Passage of the final Regulations included the Bagle Amendment, which exempts the membership policies of social fraternities and sororities, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls, and any other voluntary youth services organizations which are exempt from taxation under 501A (1956). See Title IX Regulations, Section 86.14.

TITLE IX
OR
BE NICE TO UNCLE SAM'S NIECES
OR
ARE REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS RELEVANT FOR EDUCATION?

by

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Until very recently, sex discrimination on the campus was largely unnoticed, unchallenged, and unchecked. Indeed, such discrimination against most women in the educational community was legal; only an Executive Order prohibiting sex discrimination in employment by federal contractors applied. All educational institutions could legally discriminate against female students.

The 92nd Congress, in a little-noticed legislative explosion, articulated a national policy to end sex discrimination on the campus. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was amended to cover employment in all educational institutions whether or not they receive federal monies; the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was amended to cover all administrative, executive and professional employees; Titles VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act were amended to prohibit sex discrimination in admissions to all federally assisted programs that train health professionals; the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was given jurisdiction over sex discrimination; and last, but certainly not least, the Congress enacted Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 to forbid sex discrimination against students and employees in federally assisted education programs.

There was virtually no opposition to the passage of these laws by either the educational community or the public at large. Sex discrimination, once only a philosophical or moral issue, is now a legal issue as well. More charges of sex discrimination in employment have been filed against institutions of higher education than against any other industry in the country. We can expect a similar tidal wave of complaints by students now that the Title IX floodgates have been opened with the publication of the proposed Title IX regulations.

The key provision in Title IX reads:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance..

Title IX covers virtually all areas of student life: admissions, financial aid, health services, sports, testing, differential rules and regulations, etc. Title IX is patterned after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in all federally assisted programs on the basis of race, color and national origin. However, Title IX is narrower in the sense that it covers only federally assisted education programs rather than all federally assisted programs; on the other hand, Title IX is broader in that it covers both students and employees, whereas Title VI is in most instances restricted to coverage of students.

Both Title VI and Title IX are enforced by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Individuals and organizations can challenge any discriminatory policy or practice by writing a letter of complaint to the Secretary of HEW. They may file on their own behalf or on behalf of someone else or a group. Complaints can be filed on a class action basis, with or without specific aggrieved individuals being named. If discrimination is found, the statute requires that the government first attempt to resolve the problem through informal conciliation and persuasion.

The legal sanctions for non-compliance are identical for Titles VII and IX: the government may delay or terminate awards, or debar institutions from eligibility for future awards. Although formal administrative hearing is required before funds can be cut off or the institution debarred from future aid, no hearing is required for HEW to delay awards. Such delays in awards can occur while HEW informally "negotiates" with an institution to bring about compliance. HEW can also request the Department of Justice to bring suit in the event of noncompliance.

Since Title IX is patterned after Title VI, precedents developed under Title VI are likely to be applied to Title IX. Thus, individuals may have a private right to sue institutions that allegedly discriminate. Although both Title VI and Title IX are silent on this issue, there have been several court cases under Title VI filed by private individuals against organizations receiving federal assistance, including one case that was heard by the Supreme Court. (Lau v. Nichols, 94 S.CT. 786 (1974). Therefore, it may be possible for individuals and organizations to bypass HEW and go directly into court, thus avoiding long delays.

Any educational institution, public or private, which received federal monies by way of a grant,loan or contract (other than a contract of insurance or guaranty) is required to comply with Title IX. Schools at all levels are covered: preschools, kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools, junior and community colleges, four-year colleges, universities, and graduate and professional schools.

Exemptions:

The statute exempts military schools only when the primary purpose is to train individuals for the military services of the United States or the Merchant Marine. An institution controlled by religious organizations is exempt only to the extent that the antidiscrimination provisions of Title IX are not consistent with the religious tenets of the organization; thus, discrimination on the basis of custom or convenience is prohibited.

The only other exemptions to Title IX lie in the area of admissions: private undergraduate institutions, preschools, elementary and secondary schools (other than vocational schools), and single-sex public undergraduate institutions. Although exempt from the admissions requirements of Title IX, these schools are not exempt from the obligation to treat students in a nondiscriminatory manner in all areas other than admissions. Thus a private undergraduate school, by virtue of its admissions exemption, could legally hold down the number of women it allows to attend. However, having admitted students of both sexes (in whatever proportion), it cannot discriminate after admission on the basis of sex.

> The exemption for military schools, the limited exemption for religious schools and the admissions exemptions are the only ones written into the statute by the Congress. Any other exemptions that might be made as a result of administrative decisions by HEW such as exempting Rhodes Scholarships or revenue producing sports are likely to come under strong criticism from both women's groups and members of Congress.

One of the problems encountered under Title IX and other civil rights laws as well is the answer to the question: What constitutes discrimination? Policies and practices that clearly and specifically apply to one sex are generally easy to assess as discriminatory. Admissions quotas for women, or rules that require dormitory residence for women but not for men are overtly discriminatory and a violation of Title IX. Other examples of overt discrimination are: requiring different courses for males and females; allowing boys but not girls to be crossing guards; sponsoring a summer science camp for male students only; awarding academic credit to males, but not to females, who participate in interscholastic or intercollegiate athletics.

While many of these rules and policies are often "explained" on the basis of supposed "differences" between males and females, they are nevertheless discriminatory and violate Title IX.

Sometimes you can more easily recognize the discriminatory nature of a particular overt policy or practice by substituting the word "black" for "female" and the word "white" for "men". Try it on the following:

> A university health service provides team doctors for varsity athletics for men, but not for women.
>
> At one institution women could not use the handball courts unless a male signed up for her.
>
> Women need higher grades and test scores for admission than men do.

If it sounds as though it would be illegal for the practice to be aimed at blacks or other minorities, the practice is likely to be illegal under Title IX.

Indirect Discrimination

The subtle and indirect forms of discrimination are far harder to identify and correct. Many of the principles developed in the courts under the Constitution and civil rights laws are going to be used as precedents in assessing sex discrimination in education. For example, for some time, the *intent* to discriminate has been considered largely irrelevant in determining whether a specific policy or practice is discriminatory. In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (401 U.S. 424, 1971) noted that the intent of a policy is not what counted, it is the *effect* of the policy or practice that is important. Any policy or practice that is fair on its face but has a disproportionate effect on a protected class (i.e. women and minorities), and cannot be justified by business necessity, is discriminatory. While the Griggs decision occurred in connection with employment discrimination, the same principle has been utilized by the courts in other civil rights issues, and is being applied to sex discrimination in education. Indeed, this principle enunciated by Chief Justice Burger, who wrote the opinion for the unanimous court, is likely to be the touchstone in evaluating the more subtle forms of discrimination against women in education.

Thus, at the college level, restrictions on part-time attendance or on part-time financial aid might well be considered a violation of Title IX, because women are more likely, due to child-rearing responsibilities, to need to attend school on a part-time basis than men. Although part-time policies are ostensibly neutral, they have a disproportionate effect on restricting the opportunities for women. Another example of policies which at first glance seem neutral and fair would be that of giving preference in admissions or financial aid to persons who have participated in interscholastic or intercollegiate athletics on the basis of viewing such experience as evidence of being "well-rounded" or "competitive." However, because athletic opportunities have been severely limited for females at most institutions, participation in athletics as criteria for admission or financial aid is heavily biased, even though it seems to be neutral on its face.

Title IX covers virtually every area involving students and employees. It covers recruiting, admissions (with some exceptions), financial aid, differential rules or regulations, housing rules and facilities, physical education and athletics, health care and insurance, student employment opportunities, extra-curricular activities, counseling and testing, single sex courses and programs, graduation requirements, vocational educational programs.

The employment section of the regulations covers all conditions of employment including part-time employees, maternity leave and fringe benefits. In general, the employment provisions are similar to those of other non-discrimination laws and regulations.

Women's groups are highly critical of the regulations for being too weak. Some educational administrators and the athletic interests are highly critical of the regulations for being too strong. Others are confused or indecisive.

Some of the issues being raised by women's civil rights groups are the following:

Affirmative and Remedial Action

In general, the proposed regulations do not require or forbid institutions from taking affirmative action when there is limited participation by one sex, without a finding of discrimination. Affirmative action, however, is specifically required in the areas of previously single sex schools and in athletics. Institutions which have previously discriminated are required to take "remedial action" to overcome the effects of past discrimination. It is not clear from the regulations whether the institution or HEW determines the need for remedial action, or if a formal finding of discrimination is needed for an institution to develop a remedial program. Furthermore, no definition of past discrimination is given, so institutions have no guidance in determining whether or not remedial action is necessary.

Should a remedial or affirmative action plan be required, there is nothing in the proposed regulations that requires the plan to be in writing or for it to be approved or even read by HEW. Nor is there any guidance as to the essential contents and limits of affirmative and remedial action. Women's groups are concerned that there is no requirement for a self-assessment study of the institution; they claim that institutions will not be fully aware of many discriminatory practices and policies that may inadvertently exist unless the regulations require some sort of self-evaluation study.

Admissions

The general exemptions from the admissions requirements of Title IX were mentioned earlier,mainly the private undergraduate collegesand the single sex public institutions. Admissions to all public undergraduate institutions, all graduate, professional and vocational schools are covered by Title IX. Admissions to preschools, elementary and secondary schools other than vocational are exempt.

Since private undergraduate admissions are exempt, and professional and vocational admissions are covered, it is not clear what the intent of the Congress was concerning schools which fall into both categories: private undergraduate vocational and professional schools. The statute itself is silent. HEW's policy decision is to exempt all private undergraduate vocational and professional schools, such as schools of architecture, engineering and business. However, in other legislation, such as the Comprehensive Health Manpower Act, the Congress has clearly prohibited sex discrimination in admissions to vocational and professional training in the health area, even when these programs are operated by private institutions. Thus there is ample Congressional precedent for Title IX to cover private undergraduate schools that train for professions and vocations.

There are no prohibitions concerning admission and treatment of part-time and older students. Since many women attend school part-time and/or at a later age because of family responsibilities, women claim that restrictive policies concerning age or part-time attendance (including restrictions on part-time financial aid) have a disproportionate and discriminatory impact on women. Women's groups are asking that there be specific mention made of part-time students in the regulations.

In general, the proposed regulations give few examples of discrimination, and when examples are given, they are only examples of overt discrimination. Institutions are given no guidance concerning the more subtle forms of discrimination. For example, many institutions believe that their admissions procedures are "fair" although closer examination often indicates that sex biased criteria may be inadvertently used. For example, a graduate institution may give preference to Rhodes scholars. Since only men can become Rhodes scholars, the criteria has a discriminatory impact on women. Other criteria which might be considered sex biased would be:

having received an athletic award, letter or scholarship. (The lack of athletic opportunities for women makes this criterion especially suspect.)

Giving preference to students who are presidents of clubs. (In may schools, equally qualified female students are encouraged to run for vice-president or secretary.)

Using mililary service as a measure of broad background or good citizenship. (In addition to being exempt from the draft, the number of women admitted to the services is limited by a strict quota and women applicants must be more qualified than the men.)

Using continuous schooling or employment as a sign of commitment. (Although many women interrupt their education or careers for child rearing, this is generally not an expression of lack of interest or commitment.)

The incorporation of examples of subtle but nevertheless illegal discrimination would provide guidance to institutions and would lessen the number of unnecessary complaints filed against institutions.

Treatment of Students

Although some schools are exempt from coverage with regard to admissions, all schools must treat their admitted students without discrimination on the basis of sex. This includes course offerings; extra-curricular activities, including student organizations and competitive athletics; all benefits, services and financial aid, facilities and housing, In all of these, the institution cannot provide different aid, benefits or services, or provide them in a different manner, or have different rules and regulations.

Thus girls could not be required to take home economics unless boys were also required to take it; nor could girls be excluded from courses in industrial arts. Similarly, women college students could not be excluded from a criminology course because it involved working with male prisoners. Males could not be given preference in deciding which students should be allowed to take a particular course such as giving boys preference for an advanced math course "because girls are not good in math" or "because girls don't 'need' such courses."

Financial Aid

Financial aid, including scholarships, loans, grants-in-aid, work-study programs, and fellowships cannot be restricted to one sex, nor can criteria be different for each sex. Thus offering women a loan, and comparable qualified males a fellowship, would be a violation of the Act. Denying married women financial aid (while not similarly denying such aid to married men), or offering married women and men financial aid on a different basis would also be illegal. At some institutions, financial aid committees have automatically assumed that a married woman needs less assistance because her husband will support her, while a married man needs more assistance because he is "head of the household." While this assumption may be correct in some instances it is not correct in all instances. Policies and procedures which are based on assumptions about women or men as a whole class are likely to come under question; individuals must be considered on the basis of individual capacities and qualifications and not on the basis of characteristics attributed to the group.

Awarding different amounts of aid to women and men with dependent children because of sex based assumptions about child care responsibilities is also a violation. In addition, policies which make it difficult for part-time students to receive aid or which have strict age limitations are likely to have a disproportionate effect on women who are more likely, because of child rearing responsibilities, to attend school part-time and/or at a later age.

Single sex fellowships are prohibited, with the exception of those scholarships established under a foreign will, trust or bequest by a foreign government. This exemption, which does not appear in the statute and has not the slightest justification in the legislative history, is strictly a creature of an HEW attempt to exempt the Rhodes Scholarships from Title IX. Several institutions such as Harvard and the University of Minnesota have nominated outstanding women for Rhodes scholarships, only to have them rejected solely on the basis of their sex.

The Secretary has asked for comment on the provision that single sex fellowships and scholarships (other than those initiated by foreign governments) be open to both sexes. Many persons are opposed to changing formerly all male grants so that women can compete for them. Such persons claim that it would be difficult to change these because many of them originate in wills, bequests and trusts. However, numerous wills and trusts that discriminated on the basis of race have been broken by the courts and rule invalid. It's of interest to note that when Yale and Princeton began to admit women, they simply changed the terms governing many fellowships and prizes for "men in Yale" or "men at Princeton" to allow women to compete. In other words, these institutions interpreted the term "men" as embracing all students at the college and including both sexes.

However, in some limited instances calling for remedial action, the Secretary has indicated that sex may be taken into account in awarding financial aid, although it is not clear as to how this might be done.

Until the Supreme Court rules more definitively on a DeFunis type case, it will be difficult for institutions and HEW to know where the precise boundary is between legal affirmative action and illegal preference.

Housing

Title IX permits institutions to maintain separate living facilities for each sex; however, they cannot otherwise discriminate in housing. The proposed regulations call for comparable housing for both sexes in terms of quantity, quality and cost. Thus it would be illegal to charge both sexes the same housing fee but only provide maid service to male students, or provide different security provisions, such as guards and locks, only to one sex. Additionally, schools could not arbitrarily use the number of rooms available as an artificial way of limiting admission to females. For many years, some institutions have said they would be glad to have more women, but they just didn't have enough dorms for women, who were required to live on campus. Male students could live anywhere they wanted. Dormitory space might have to be reallocated in order to achieve compliance with Title IX. However, most dormitories, like most apartments, are not built any differently for one sex or the other. When Yale "converted" its formerly all male residences to accommodate females, they simply added new locks and full length mirrors. As more women were admitted, they no longer added the full length mirrors, and they gave everyone new locks. As for urinals, women who live in formerly all-male quarters tell me they make marvelous planters.

Textbooks and Curriculum

This area is not covered by the proposed regulations, although earlier drafts of the regulations required that institutions set up procedures for the evaluation of textbooks and curricular materials for sex bias. HEW is concerned about infringements of speech. Women's groups claim that many departments in colleges and universities, as well as local and state school offices already have mechanisms to review curriculum and textbooks, and that procedures to evaluate sex bias could easily be incorporated in them. Requiring the institution or school system to set up its own procedures would keep the federal government out of any censorship role and would at the same time provide some way of dealing with sexist bias.

Support of Discriminatory Organizations

Discriminatory organizations that do not serve students or employees can be aided by schools and colleges. Thus a single sex organization, such as the Jr. Chamber of Commerce could meet and conduct programs on school property. Had the Little League remained closed to girls it would have been allowed to play on college fields. This provision encourages and condones discrimination and violates both the spirit and the letter of Title IX. Organizations that discriminate can apparently post notices and use in-house communications.

Although the regulations prohibit assistance to organizations which provide services to students or employees, the introductory material preceding the regulations dilutes this provision by stating that the criteria for determining compliance would be the "substantiality" of the relationship -- implying that in some instances, organizations that discriminate against students or employees could be assisted by federally supported institutions. It's a little difficult to understand what the legal basis is for allowing some discrimination in some instances.

Athletics and Physical Education

Perhaps the most controversial area that Title IX covers is that of athletics. Here the discrimination is the greatest, certainly in terms of the differences in the amount of money spent on each sex and in terms of clearly overt discriminatory policies and practices. Certainly no other issue under Title IX has generated as much heated debate and controversy as equality in sports and athletics.

Apart from the pressures of the organized male athletic hierarchy, the athletics issue is one of the most difficult to deal with. More than most areas of our educational system, athletics and physical education reflect the essence of our most stereotyped cultural norms: men are "supposed" to be strong and aggressive and women are "supposed" to be weak and passive. Women and girls have generally not been encouraged to participate in physical activities partly because the traits associated with athletic excellence such as achievement, self-confidence, leadership, and strength, are often seen as being in "contradiction" with the expected role females are "supposed" to play.

Another difficulty in dealing with the sports issue is that the legal precedents are far from clear. In almost all other areas of discrimination, the precedents developing out of race discrimination cases can readily and easily be applied to fit sex discrimination. Because of the general physical differences between men and women as a whole, the principles developed in other discrimination areas do not easily apply to athletic issues, particularly in the area of competitive sports, where the issue of single-sex teams and integrated teams is one that is hardly solved by the current HEW proposed regulations. "Separate-but-equal," which is a discredited theory in terms of civil rights, may have some limited validity when applied to the athletics issues.

Under the HEW proposed regulations all physical education classes must be integrated. However, separate competitive teams for each sex are allowed, provided that there is no discrimination in the provision of supplies, or equipment,or in any other manner. Thus, it would be illegal to always purchase new equipment only for the men's team and to always give the women's team the old equipment. Providing travel funds for men's teams while the women's teams must sell cookies to pay for their travel is also illegal. However, there is no guidance given to institutions as to when they should operate two separate teams and when there should be one single integrated team. Nor is there any guidance given concerning the participation of women on men's teams when the women meet the skill levels required.

The regulations state that equal aggregate expenditures for athletics are not required for members of each sex. However, the introductory material preceding the regulations interprets this section as not requiring equal aggregate expenditures for each team. Several women's groups are suggesting that where separate teams exist for each sex in the same sport, expenditures should be equal on a per capita basis, unless the institution can show that the different expenditure rate is related to non-discriminatory factors beyond the institution's control (such as a different amount of travel money expended because each team had a different travel schedule.)

The regulations also allow athletic scholarships for each sex when there are separate teams for each sex. However, it is not clear as to whether the total number of such single sex scholarships must be equal (or compatable) or what is required when there are no separate teams for each sex.

An annual determination of student interest in athletics is also required, as an aid in planning affirmative efforts. HEW officials have stated that the "determination" need not be a survey but could be in the form of an advisory committee. Women's groups are likely to press for a survey rather than a committee determination of interest; institutions are likely to press for a committee. On the one hand, institutions are worried that they might find out that nobody wanted football, or that women wanted more than the institution was willing to provide; on the other hand, it might be in the institution's own self-interest to utilize the results of a survey to justify a lack of programming in a particular area when the survey showed little interest on the part of one sex in that area.

The recipient institution is required to make affirmative efforts when athletic opportunities have been previously limited. No assessment of past or current opportunities is required. No examples of "affirmative efforts" are given. No remedial action is required, nor are affirmative action plans required to be in writing. Thus, institutions are required to "provide support and training activities (for members of a sex for which athletic opportunities have been limited) designed to improve and expand their capabilities and interest in such opportunities. No guidance is given to institutions as to what kinds of support and training activities might be undertaken, nor are written plans required.

Among the most difficult to implement is the requirement to make affirmative efforts to "equalize opportunities for members of both sexes, taking into consideration the determination" made by the institution. Women's groups and institutions are likely to be forced into an adversary role as they grope for new ways to handle sports programs without any guidance from the government as to what constitutes "equal opportunity". One definition suggested that equal opportunity include, but not be limited to the following:

> selection of sports and levels of competition; recruitment efforts; provision of equipment and supplies; scheduling of games and practice times; travel and per diem allowance; awarding of athletic scholarships; opportunity to receive coaching and instruction; awarding of letters and other sports awards; assignment of coaches and instructors; provision of locker-rooms; facilities for practice or competition; provision of medical and training facilities, services and programs; provision of uniforms; provision of intramural and recreational opportunities; provision of publicity.

This definition would not be contradictory to the current proposed regulations but would merely specify in greater detail the areas that institutions must be aware of in planning non-discriminatory programs.

The issue of competitive sports is difficult because it involves a good deal of money and a good deal of power. NCAA, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, has been the most vocal opponent of Title IX and its coverage of sports. They have consistently cried "Foul" when women have asked for a sporting chance. Their first tactic was to claim that Title IX did not cover sports because it is not mentioned in the legislation or the legislative history. It is true that the legislation does not spell out particular programs, since its enabling provision is a general one; it covers "*any* educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." There are several exemptions to Title IX; athletics is not one of them. And contrary to NCAA myths, the legislative history does indedd mention sports (see *Congressional Record*, February 28, 1972).

Their second argument is that since intercollegiate activities do not receive money directly, Title IX does not apply. This type of theory has long been outmoded in the area of civil rights litigation. When the government is involved, the activities of the whole establishment can be called into question; discrimination in one area "infects" the rest of the activities conducted by the institution. The third argument is that if revenue producing sports are covered by Title IX, other sports which depend upon such income will be abandoned, and women as well as men will have fewer sports to choose from. NCAA tried to sell this argument to the Congress (the Tower Amendment) but was turned down. Most institutions operate their intercollegiate sports programs at a loss; NCAA estimates that its institutes are operating their programs on a $49 million dollar deficit.

The sports issue boils down to this: in order to upgrade women's athletic programs it will cost money. Unless there is an influx of new monies, the money will have to come from somewhere, such as reducing the amount of money that is currently being spent on men's sports. It is not unusual, for example, for the budget for men's athletics to be a hundred or even a thousand times greater than the budget for women's athletics. In Minneapolis, the amount of money spent to outfit the football team of one single high school is more than that spent on the entire program for girls for the whole city.

The sports issue will be an interesting one to watch since it is likely to draw in many women and giles, mothers and daughters as well as fathers and brothers,-- all of whom have an interest in seeing that athletic programs do not discriminate against their daughters and sisters.

Indeed Title IX as a whole is likely to raise all kinds of issues as it challenges many traditional notions about how our educational institutions operate to perpetuate stereotypes. It gives women and girls a legal handle to challenge and change educational policies and practices. For the first time in history, the reproductive organs of individuals will be truly irrelevant in the educations process.

Employment Issues

Part-time employees and fringe benefits

The regulations would require that part-time employees be paid fringe benefits when they are permanent and when an institution's female permanent employees are predominantly part-time, or when the part-time permanent employees are predominantly female. Women's groups support this provision while institutions are understandably concerned about the cost factors. Women note, however, that institutions already pay fringes for men with two or more "part-time" assignments as is the case in joint appointments. Women's groups are also concerned that an exemption for part-time employees in the area of fringe benefits could set a precedent in allowing further exemptions for part-time and other employees as well.

Pensions

As currently written, the regulations would permit either equal contributions or equal benefits, thus allowing pension plans such as TIAA to exist -- plans which require equal contributions for each sex but pay less per month to women. Similarly, men often receive less life insurance than women for the same amount of money because of the same actuarial tables. This provision is in line with the Equal Pay Act but would put employers in violation of Title VII of the

Civil Rights Act of 1964, which requires equal benefits (according to EEOC's Sex Discrimination Guidelines) regardless of the amount of contributions made by the employer. Since virtually all employers are covered by Title VII and only some by Title IX, institutions might be mislead into thinking that they are in compliance with all federal requirements by following the Title IX regulations.

The Pension issue is the most controversial in terms of employment. The Secretary has requested comments on three alternatives:

1. Equal benefits or equal contributions, as in the proposed regulations
2. Equal benefits on a periodic basis, whether or not the contributions are equal
3. Benefits and contributions should be equal and based on a unisex or single actuarial table for both sexes combined.

Women's groups claim that current single sex actuarial tables are a sex-biased classification and are therefore inherently discriminatory. They note that minorities have an even shorter life expectancy than whites but do not collect higher pensions based on that fact. They also point out that unequal pension benefits disproportionately affect minority women, whose life expectancy is less than that of white males and white females. In spite of this, minority women do not receive a higher pension as do white males because of their lower life expectancy. Thus women's groups support unisex tables, similar in concept to the uni-race tables now in use.

Pregnancy and maternity leave

Although the introductory material preceding the regulations states that pregnancy should be treated the same as any other temporary disability, the regulations themselves do not treat pregnancy in that manner. They require that there be advance notification of 120 days to the employer of the delivery date (although men who require elective hernia surgery do not need to notify employers 120 days before the procedure). It also requires written certification by a physician of the woman's ability to continue work, although written physician certification to work is not generally required for other temporary disabilities such as a broken leg or prostate surgery. Moreover, the regulations as currently written allow institutions to force a women who takes a leave for pregnancy or childbirth -- no matter how short the leave -- to remain on leave until the beginning of the first full academic semester following her physician's certification that she is able to work. Other disabilities such as prostate surgery may keep persons off the job for several weeks, yet they will be allowed to return without being forced to wait for the beginning of the next academic term. A woman who took two days off because of disability caused by pregnancy could be forced to stay on leave until the next semester began.

Let me close with a newly discovered revelation from the Bible -- obviously discovered by a woman archaeologist:

> AND THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR POTS AND
> PANS INTO PRINTING PRESSES,
> AND WEAVE THEIR CLOTH INTO PROTEST
> BANNERS,
> NATIONS OF WOMEN SHALL LIFT UP THEIR
> VOICES WITH NATIONS OF OTHER WOMEN,
> NEITHER SHALL THEY ACCEPT DISCRIMINATION
> ANY MORE

That may sound apocryphal but it is likely to prove to come from the Book of Prophets. For what women are learning is the politics of change. They are learning that the hand that rocks the cradle can also rock the boat. And education -- and the world -- will never be the same again.

WOMEN THROUGH THE LIFE PHASE

The papers in this section were contributed by women who head innovative programs which are designed to meet the needs of women whose educational and vocational priorities shift with changes in their life situations. Ruth Van Doren, Director of the Human Relations Work Study Center at the New School for Social Research, oversees a program that provides training opportunities for women in a variety of careers, including school psychologist assistants, counselor aides, family law workers, computer scientists, and urban planners.

Mattie Cook directs the tuition-free Malcolm-King Harlem College Extension which provides higher education opportunities for the adult residents of the Harlem community.

The program currently enrolls over 700 students, and many of them are working women who want to upgrade their skills. Other students are seeking to enter the job market. The average age of the student body is thirty-three.

The last paper in this section by Sheila Tobias and Marni White, draws on statistical research and sociological analysis to predict the obstacles women will face in the future in seeking education, employment, and social acceptance of new cultural roles.

THE LIFE PHASE AND THE WORKING WOMAN

by

Ruth Van Doren
Director, Human Relations
Work Study Center
New School for Social Research

Women graduating from postsecondary institutions face discrimination in first entering the job market. The same situation also exists upon re-entering the job market at later stages. Today, I will discuss some solutions as they apply to the young, middle aged or senior women who desire employment. With ties between learning about human potentialities and productivity and the actualities of our living together so strained and dangerously frayed, it may be that women will join in the bonding of learning and doing. Education at the Human Relations Work Study Center addresses these possibilities.

As an "old" -- or mature -- adult university of 52 years, the New School of

Social Research has always encouraged students to learn whatever they choose with practicing experts. Although the New School has a large graduate school and a variety of baccalaureate programs, the majority of our students come to acquire new competencies and interests, rather than credentials. This environment has been most congenial, then, to the daytime center for the sustained learning of ladies, established by Alice Rice Cook and Dr. Lillian Gilbert more than 20 years ago when gloves were white and hats were in flower.

Then, too, the Center aimed at giving women a good self-image, an understanding of the humanities and the social sciences and the capacity and competency to be productive in society. Yesterday, one of the original students,--with a third career as companion to the late Fannie Hurst, brought in this verse as appropriate for current students:

TO MY DAUGHTER, THE HIGH SCHOOL SENIOR

Don't get excited, we're delighted
You know your own mind and want
to find
Yourself before going off to college.
Self-knowledge is important too.
We agree, you should feel free to
see
Exactly who you are, and who you
will be,
Eventually.
While you meditate, I'll
matriculate
And next year the freshman in our
family
Is going to be me.
Rochelle Distelheim
(McCall's,October 1974)

Learning with a variety of middle aged women, my cohorts so to speak over the past ten years, we have tried to design continuously a curriculum and a Center for interaction where we may study and re-examine the knowledge, attitudes and skills requisite for effective and satisfying participation in a dramatically changing society. For the purposes of today's discussion, I will focus on the concerns of middle aged women as returners to training, to full participation as citizen-consumers or to the job market. Indeed, this group constitutes three-fourths of our student population. Increasingly, though, recent graduates, college drop-outs, veterans, unemployed people and early retirees seeking new vocations enroll in the Human Relations Work-Study Center's program at the New School for Social Research. The congruency of questions, problems and vocational goals within these heterogeneous groups always raises the question: Shouldn't Continuing Education for Women (C E W) programs, in truth, become Continuing Education for Everyone (C E E)? The demands for greater flexibility in education, for a variety of vocations and avocations, and for frequent retraining and refreshment can be heard from many, if we listen.

Evolving education, economic turbulence and recent social restructuring cause mature women to ask, "Where have I been?" "Where am I now?" "And where am I going?" The technological, biological and societal revolutions of the past decades have so shaped and strengthened the women's movement as to cause even those of us who imagined ourselves birthright feminists to pause in wonder. Whether or not all women actively join the movement, we are affected by its rising expectations and demands for access to education, economic opportunity and recognition of individual abilities.

Yet, as the mature woman, in increasing numbers, seeks acceptance and recognition in the work place, she may have exchanged the responsibility for child care for the high probability of having aged and needy parents. Concerns about her own loss of youthfulness and identity are personally threatening, especially in cultures which place great value on youth and status while manifesting strong ambivalence toward the aging process. Thus, the middle years pose extremely difficult tasks of self-appraisal, complicated by birth control, girth control, the expense of replaceable parts for an old model, and the failure to deal with death.

Women entering or re-entering the labor force at this time must face the realities of risk-taking and cultivate a high tolerance for uncertainty. Not only does the task of synthesizing vocational commitments and family demands require great ingenuity and personal improvisation, but the social supports for updating skills and acquiring competence are still fairly rudimentary.

Often, self-assessment can be effectively accomplished among peers in a workshop setting with experienced instructors -- and resourceful facilitators. Consciousness-raising frequently turns into yeasty conscience-raising. Exercises in autonomy, self-reliance and initiative assist the mature student in applying today's learning towards tomorrow's quest. Confidence grows through shared experiences and knowledge. In the process of redefining herself as a person, the mature woman frequently assigns new priorities to her use of time, energy and economic resources. Career strategies are surely "caught" rather than taught. Along with studies in motivation, students are encouraged to examine behavior patterns, attitudes and disciplined competencies with a purview of how they might work productively and satisfyingly in the "real" world, the total work force, where women work for compelling economic reasons, and where the requirements and demands are frequently inconvenient.

To provide training opportunities along with work experience, we instituted some special programs eight years ago -- beginning in the traditional fields of school psychologist assistant, social work aide, counselor aide and others. Although semantically designated "paraprofessional" and sometimes happily including trainees from public and private agencies, these were initially designed for the mature returnee who is seeking a new occupation, one which contributes to constructive social change, and who, while testing skills under supervision, can work in a wide variety of settings. This semester, a program for family law worker has attracted a number of women, mostly with B.A. degrees, one who has "large blocks of time which I would like to use for a socially valuable end, no window dressing", or another who is "aware of the need for drastic reform in the family court -- and means to be a part of it either as a volunteer or as a professional."

In recent years, we offered a substantial training curriculum in urban planning. When some ten students -- all female -- achieved satisfactory placements and the instructor-director of the program also became a Commissioner, we felt we had saturated the job market for the moment. You will ask immediately, I hope, do such programs provide job openings? Based on as much reporting as we have been able to substantiate, we believe that approximately one-third of the students secure satisfactory work in the field; a third continue further training, and the remaining third go in other directions. This does not account for those students already working who come to improve their job skills.

Although our mature students still seem most strongly attracted to such fields as mental health, family health and nutrition, i.e., traditional woman's work related to human services, we find some readiness to learn about the tools of a technological society: the computer, video-tape, the camera, duplicating machines, television, cassette-instruction, electronics, and the economics of recycling and ecosystems.

We may expect that women-on-the-move, prodded by necessity and always programmed to be pragmatic, multi-purpose people, will be looking for better paying opportunities, not just jobs that require a lot of education, but those in skilled trades, as technicians, construction workers or in sales, banking and insurance.

To enable women to participate fully in the economic and political life of the world, "compensatory" education and openings for valid work experience must be available. In the past two years, we have found students deeply interested in writing, speaking and skill-building courses. They are more attentive to the needs of the total person, the unique individual. Beyond prime economic need, divorce, wodowhood, longevity and improved health and energy -- as single factors or in various combinations -- have forced middle aged women into the mainstream of society, to be workers, consumers, citizens and culture-deciders. We do not need endlessly to recall Lysistrata or Ibsen's Nora to prove that women want options.

Since our Center is constantly

concerned with human rights, we hold monthly seminars on the international status of women attended by representatives from the UN and other international organizations. Recommendations are forwarded to the group planning for the 1975 International Conference on the Year of the Woman, to be held in Bogota. Such exchange enhandes friendship and understanding. Moreover, the seminar enriches our perspective, sense of proportion and identification with women working and studying all over the world.

Still, most of the learning, much of the exhilaration and great personal zest for inquiry derive from major attention to the social sciences and the humanities. To be free to study -- to discover or rediscover -- the capacity to initiate, to develop a reasoned critical sense, to research with genuine curiosity are aspirations and new attainments for many mature women. Some of these fine students are already in the work force. They may exercise their new skills and perceptions towards a sense of autonomous self, lover, friend, citizen, family member, worker, leisure-time user and chooser.

Thereby, quite often, interdisciplinary learning becomes cross-cultural as a very heterogeneous student group interacts with instructors practicing in the field. Since all of our faculty-facilitators and most of our mature student-questioners are at the university part-time (actually discretionary-time) motivation runs high. The adult learner elects to bring her experience to learning. The addressograph machine was not without self-fulfilling prophecy recently when it skipped a few symbols and dubbed our university, "New Cool--for Social--search."

If, in talking about our program in relation to work for mature women, we seem to be leading women along a rainbow path, or through a rose garden, the guilt of enthusiasm and ill-founded optimism is mine, not necessarily representative of the opinions of my colleagues nor the view of the university. Our scholarship program is so meager that we are not able to serve the total population. It becomes increasingly difficult, in the present economy, to place middle-aged women in field training sought by young graduate students. Soaring costs of transportation and every other supportive service make it difficult to connect training and work opportunities. Although somewhat fewer students are able to surmount these obstacles, those that are now able to commit themselves to training and work have a firmness of approach that defies the gloom and doom economists.

Women, supportive of women-sisters, in many areas are being helpful -- in the unions, in the exchange of services and training, in cooperatives and collectives, in professional and political caucusing, in the ombudsmanship which the implementation of affirmative action requires.

These times exact from all of us extraordinary imagination, initiative and persistence to refashion women's work in styles satisfying and productive.

THE LIFE PHASE AND THE WORKING WOMEM FROM A MINORITY:

A BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN PERSPECTIVE

by
Mattie Cook
Administrative Director
Malcolm-King College
Harlem Extension

When offered the opportunity to participate in this conference I immediately questioned, why? What will my presentation and presence contribute to a conference of this nature? Will there be any impact or influence on the role or the status of women in general, women in postsecondary education, or more importantly on the equality of women as it related to human rights and particularly minority women's rights? As I thought about these issues and the roles that women do or do not play in society, I realized that this conference might present the best opportunity to not only address the rights of women but place some very special emphasis on women's rights from a black and sub-minority point of view. In my paper the word "sub-minority" is used because I feel that although women are considered a "minority", Black and Puerto Rican women have status even below this level.

This Black and Puerto Rican perspective is seldom presented, but can not be omitted. From our perspective our concerns differ from those of majority concern, but cannot be overlooked or disregarded if full and effective rights are ever to be accomplished. For fear that my viewpoint might be too personalized or limited in scope and to avoid the common cliche, "She speaks for all Black women," I solicited the consultation of a very exciting, diverse group of women at Malcolm-King. Represented were young women first entering the work world, middle aged and older women pursuing careers long prepared for, women changing careers in pursuit of self fulfillment and a better life style. Included also were single women, married women, divorced and separated women, as well as mothers and women from religious orders. These women were predominately Black and Puerto Rican with educational backgrounds ranging from the high school level through the master's and advanced studies programs. This audience of women reflected, in my opinion, a good forum to discuss the rights of women with particular emphasis on the minority perspective.

Our discussion opened with a unanimous concern. Specifically, there is a history in this country of fighting for causes and issues that supposedly protect, defend, or help enforce the rights of its citizenry. Yet we who are Black, Puerto Rican or otherwise disadvantaged have repeatedly witnessed a change in attitudes and interest whenever solutions are sought to invoke real equality of human rights. Therefore, we are concerned with whether, in pursuit of women's rights, every effort will be employed to assure the rights of all segments of the female population, or whether as usual, only certain members of select ethnic groups will finally benefit. If the latter happens, predictably, the fight for equality will have failed again in our society.

Hopefully, to avoid such a disaster, may I present a few of the issues that confront minority Black and Puerto Rican women? We begin with the premise that all women, regardless of race, have been victimized and relegated by our male counterparts to a rank inferior to theirs; emotionally, educationally, and psychologically. As a result, attitudes, behavioral patterns, as well as a system of laws and discriminatory practices have been instilled that have denied women true fulfillment. Unless we recognize and deal with this situation as untenable, then nobody, including our male partners, will realize their true worth and no one will enjoy basic human rights. Therefore, it was the consensus of our group, that regardless of race and bi-cultural background, the effort to upgrade womanhood would be best advanced if a sense of kinship, respect andunity came to exist among all women.

Black women and women of other minority groups experience the usual discriminatory practices inflicted upon them because of sexual bias. They suffer psychologically and economically when they are denied equitable salaries, credit ratings, adequate housing, employment benefits and social justice in seeking self fulfillment and a better life style. However, the minority woman has additional burdens. She suffers from the racial discrimination perpetuated by her white sisters, as well as the racial discrimination perpetuated by the white male establishment. She shares a special bond with her Black male counterpart, who has also been consistently and persistently denied his rights in white America, yet her special sympathy for the black male makes her vulnerable to his sexual and economic exploitation.

Despite these experiences of victimization, Black and other minority women will continue to demand, that in obtaining their own rights, the rights of Black and minority males receive attention as well. Our women know that denial of economic and social rights for their men ultimatley has a profound effect on male/female and family relationships. Black women will work then, at all levels.

to insure that both Black men and women are offered every opportunity to participate fully in all aspects of our economy in a true and meaningful way, rather than be used as mere "window dressing." We are insulted when potential talents and skills are not evaluated or used to their fullest. We are insulted when we are patronized and tolerated because we look clean or are articulate in speech. We feel that Black and Puerto Rican women suffer more of this than do other women and want such situations eliminated. If women are to bring about significant changes in the future for women in the university, community, and nationally, women must be honest and ready to deal with the issues of race and the consequences of racial bias.

In conclusion, we strongly support the movement by women for women in the elimination of discriminatory sex practices, with the understanding that the undertaking of this enormous task will and must inevitably remove the stigma of discrimination in any form.

Our children, who represent the future, will look to us "women" and assess our values. Unless we are committed to enforcing human rights as we attain basic "women's rights", we will disappoint them.

WOMEN AND WORK

by

Marni White & Sheila Tobias
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut

In the United States today particular importance is placed on what sociologists call achieved status. A man achieves status through his job and his position in the labor market. Among the symbols of his status are his income, his power over others, his title, and his visible and continued opportunities for advancement. What he does, in other words, defines him. The fact that he also has the status of husband or father is secondary to his occupational status. Thus, for a young man to be considered grown up and mature, it is necessary for him to work at some kind of job, or at least to be actively looking for work or acquiring skills that will enable him to work.

For a woman, the dominant status, in the same sense of the word, is her sexual status of being female; what she must achieve is wifehood and motherhood. If a woman does not marry, voluntarily or involuntarily, she has failed in the same way that a man unable to find or keep employment has failed. Work, in other words, is not part of a girl's identity. As Bruno Bettleheim writes:

> The little girl's first storybooks and primers, for example, hardly ever show a woman as working or active outside the home. It makes no difference that over 5 million American children under 12 have full time working mothers. The little girl is expected to shape herself in the image of maternal housekeeping women in these stories,....the image of the stay-at-home woman is presented by her female teacher who may well be a working mother. In these early years it is rare indeed for girls to hear the slightest suggestion that they might one day do the interesting work of this world quite as well as many men or even better.

Most women enjoy a higher status by being associated with their husbands. This is called ascribed status. Whatever prestige they enjoy is likely to be derived from their husband's rank and accomplishments. The "corporate wife", for example, is an extension of her husband's career and is supposed to play a role described as ...well-bred, non-assertive and pleasant. The wife of a prominent politician may get an honorary degree from a college without herself having accomplished anything in an occupation or in the arts. This is another example of the operation of deferred or ascribed status.

Women are generally not regarded as achieving status through participation in the labor force, even when they work, since the role of work is seen as an appendage to their role as women. Yet, despite this widespread denial of women's role as job-holder and the very low regard for women's work in our society, 90% of all women work at some point in their lives. The kinds of jobs they take or are able to assume, the way they are treated on the job, and the way the work they do is evaluated by the rest of society, is part of the social context in which women function in our society.

The housewife-mother role as the principal roleof women, then, is partly a vestige of the middle-class *ideal* (and not the reality for tens of thousands of American farm and factory women) of 18th and 19th century America; also it is part of a continuing myth maintained, some say, to rationalize job discrimination. With increased education for women and fewer children, more and more women enter and stay longer in the labor force. One hundred years ago, the only woman likely to work "outside the home for pay or profit" (which is the formal definition of employment) was an immigrant, a Negro farmer or domestic laborer, a single woman, a widow fallen on dire circumstances, or one of a handful of professional college-educated teachers. Twenty years later, with the invention of the typewriter and the tidying up of office life, a youthful "army" of single, Gibson-Girl, white women secretaries entered the labor force, making it quite permissible for "decent" women to work before marriage, and spinsters to be self-supporting for life.

Twenty years after that, (about 1925) married women whose children were grown began to trickle into the work-world, though it was not until World War II that substantial numbers of married women found a permanent place at work. One the eve of the War, 15 million American women (one out of four) were employed, full-time and full season;

at its peak, wartime industry claimed 19 million women (one out of three) and though there was a dip in employment of women during the immediate post-war years, the figure was up to 19 million again by 1950.[2]

The two decades since 1950 have seen another surge of women enter the labor force. As the following page will show in detail, some pf these are responding to new demands by the economy: the increase in social service occupations, the relative decline in the occupations requiring physical strength and physical stamina; others are moving into the labor force as husband's income fails to suffice for a growing family. The great bulk of bhe women workers are married women with younger and younger children. Indeed, it is now estimated that women are entering the labor force in greater numbers and at a greater rate than men. For the period

1950-1970, the total increase in the labor force was 23 million new workers, of whom 14 million were women and 9 million men. (See Figure 3)

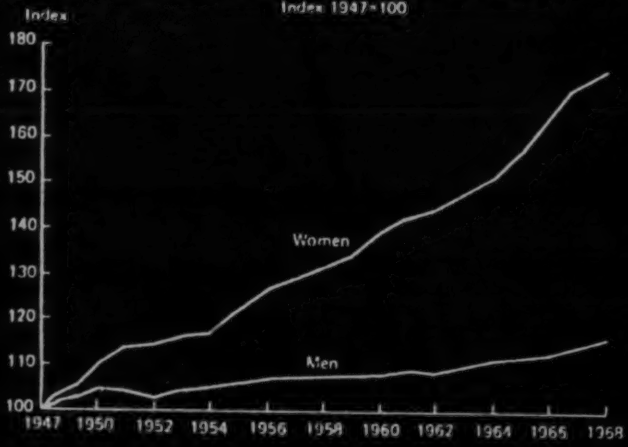
Still, the typical labor force participation of a woman over her lifetime takes the form of what labor statisticians call an M-shaped curve: school accounts for the lower left hand low-point; pre-marriage work for the first hump in the M; child-bearing and rearing for the second low-point; and return to work, the second hump. Retirement, then, accounts for the last low-point. As time out for child-rearing becomes less and less, the "curve" remains M-shaped but the M gets narrower and narrower.[3] (See Figure 1)

These stages vary, of course, in duration and intensity of experience and to some extent they are interrelated. The two factors that predict most accurately

FIG. 3

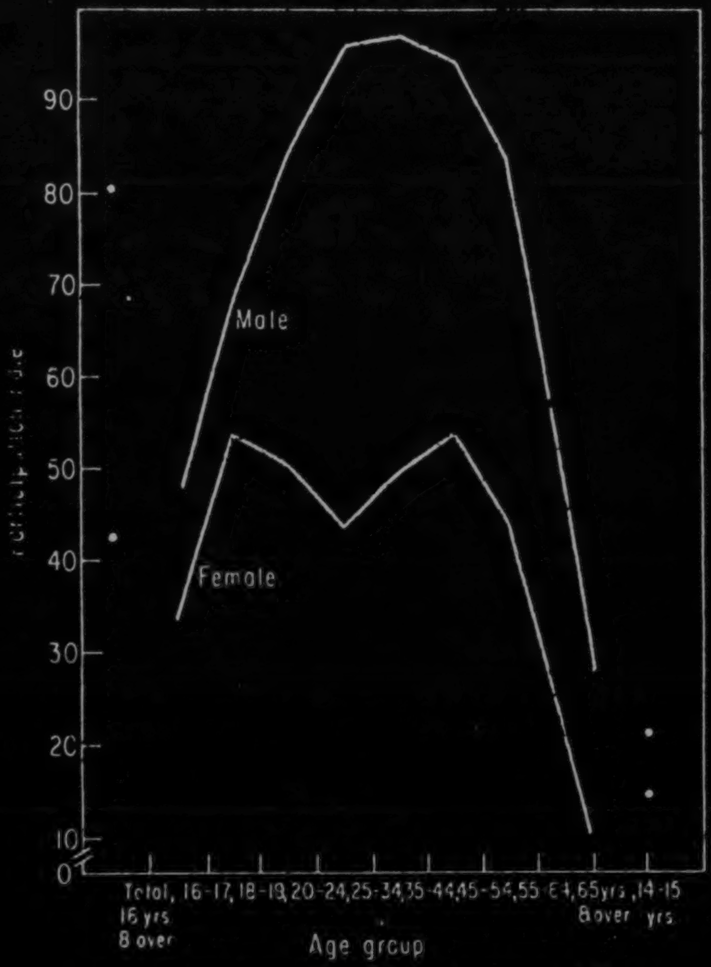
WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT HAS INCREASED FASTER THAN MEN'S*

(Relative Growth of the Labor Force, by Sex, 1947-68¹)



¹Annual averages

FIG. 1 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE, 1969



Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1970 whether and how much a woman will work are the extent of her education and the ages of her children. Thus, as education for all increases and through birth-control and anti-natalist propaganda the number of children decreases, we can expect greater and greater labor force participation on the part of women. Some statistical data bear out these generalizations:

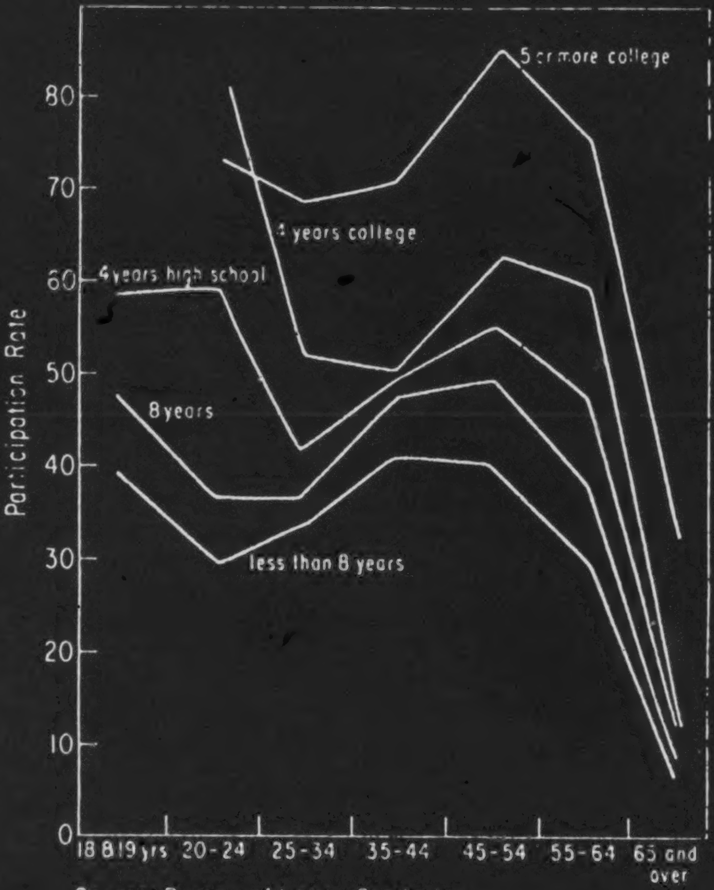
If one assumes that the average woman enters the labor force at age 20, a single woman will work 45 years (slightly longer than for men), a married woman without children can expect to work 35 years, and having one child will reduce a woman's years on the job to 25 years. Statistically she can be expected to lose two to three years for each additional child. Moreover, highly educated women with five or more years of college are twice as likely to work at all ages than women who have high school diplomas or who dropped out of high school before completion.[4] (See Figure 2)

That the birth rate will continue to decline is evidenced by a comparison of responses to poll surveys. A Gallup poll taken in 1965 revealed that the "ideal family size" for 50% of all Americans was four children. This represented the ideal for only 25% of those polled in 1971, and for college-educated persons that year this was an ideal for only 14%. Also, the number of women attending college and graduating from college has been steadily increasing over the last twenty years, from a low in 1950 of 25% of the bachelor's degrees to a high of 44% in 1969. Back in 1930, it is interesting to note, the proportion of all bachelor's degrees going to women was 40%.

Given these trends, it is cruel and misleading not to prepare women to compete

2A

FIG 2 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND AGE, 1968 (18 YEARS AND OVER)



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

with men in the labor market. Work should be portrayed to children and adults as much a part of a woman's life as her role as wife-mother, and for many women, who wish to be so measured, the work they do should be the primary status that defines them. So deep-seated is the hostility of our culture to the image of the successful working woman that working women themselves express ridicule and hostility to others who work:

> The working wife, no less than the housewife, says that the working wife is nervous, ambitious, well-educated, selfish and "up-to-date." She further concurs with the housewife that the working wife is not a loving mother, a good wife, nor efficient in household tasks. True, she is not as emphatic as the housewife in deeming the working wife nervous and selfish, and she is more prone to claim the virtues of wife and mother, but the direction of feeling is similar for both groups of wives.[5]

This hostility may account for the

E16
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WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, SELECTED YEARS, 1890–1968*

(Women 16 years of age and over)

Date	Number	As percent of all workers	As percent of woman population
HIGHLIGHTS[1]			
1968 (annual average)	29,204,000	37.1	41.6
1965	25,831,000	35.0	38.8
1960	22,985,000	33.3	37.4
1955	19,987,000	31.2	34.8
1950	17,882,000	29.1	33.0
1947	16,150,000	27.6	30.9
1945	19,290,000	36.1	33.1
1940	13,783,000	25.4	28.9
LONG TERM TRENDS[2]			
1930	10,396,000	21.9	23.6
1920	8,229,000	20.4	22.7
1900	4,999,000	18.1	20.0
1890	3,704,000	17.0	18.2

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[1] Civilian labor force.

[2] Decennial census figures cover those 14 years of age and over in the total labor force.

fact that there is still overt discrimination against women in employment which the following pages will document, explain, and for which we shall try to suggest solutions. Suffice it to say here that in whatever work they do women are like the sediment in wine bottles: they always seem to settle to the bottom. Sex discrimination is still a "respectable" prejudice and women who try to enter male professions are still subject to extensive, hostile ridicule. Details follow:

Who Works (See Figure 4)

The typical American working women today is (statistically) 36 and married. In March of 1973, 45% of all women 16 and over were employed or seeking work. They represented 40% of all employed workers. About one-quarter of all women workers worked part-time. During the year January-

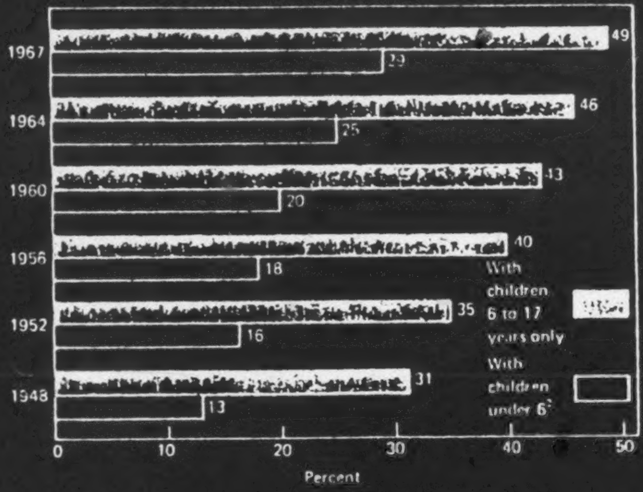
December 1970, 50% of all white women and 60% of all black women worked at least part of the year. In 1970, three out of five working women were married (husband present). In 1940, 50% of the women in the labor force were single. Now just 20% are single. This is partly a reflection of changes in attitudes towards women working and also a reflection of very high rates of marriage.[6]

Since 1960, an increasing percentage of young adult women have been working during typical child-bearing years. In 1973, 61% of women aged 20-24 were employed, and 50% of those 25-34. This may be due to later births of first children, a value change favoring the employment of young mothers, or to a demographic factor which reduced the numbers of eligible men for women reaching the age of marriage in the mid-1960's. (See Figure 5)

FIG 5

MOTHERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO WORK TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE

(Labor Force Participation Rates of Mothers, by Age of Children, Selected Years, 1948-67[1])



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[1] Data cover March of each year except for April 1948 and 1952 and are for women 14 years of age and over except 1967 which are for 16 and over.

[2] May also have older children.

Why Do They Work

When asked why they work, about one half of all women give economic reasons and about one-fifth give social or psychological reasons for working: they enjoy working and that it fulfills them.

Whether or not women work is related to three variables: A. her education; B. her husband's income and; C. the presence of young children in the household.

A. 69% of women with five or more years of college are in the labor force.

58% of women with B.A.'s.

51% high school graduates.

27% with eight years of school.

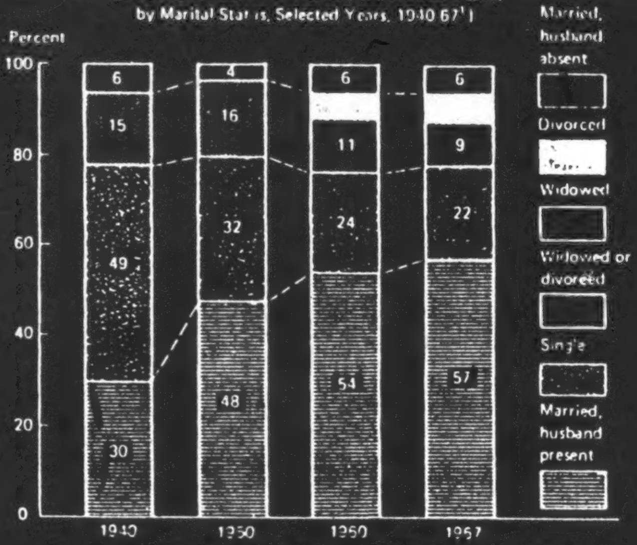
22% of women with less than eight years of school. (figures from 1968).[7]

B. Women whose husband's incomes are between $7,000 and $10,000 show a high labor force participation (49%). When husband's income is above $10,000, 61% of

FIG 6

MOST WOMEN WHO WORK ARE MARRIED*

(Percent Distribution of Women in the Labor Force, by Marital Status, Selected Years, 1940-67¹)



¹Data cover March of each year and are for women 14 years of age and over except 1967 which are for 16 and over.

the wives work; if his income is below $5,000, 37% work.[8]

C. The presence and age of young children determine whether or not a woman will work. When the children enter school, labor force participation goes up. 28% of white mothers with pre-school children work. 44% of white mothers with school age children work. Black mothers with pre-school age children were more likely to work than white mothers (42%) and they also worked at higher rates (55%) when their children entered school.

Mothers of children under 6 whose husbands earned $10,000 or more were least likely to work (16%).[9]

Where Do They Work

One of the most striking aspects of women's employment is the high concentration of women in a few occupations. Most employed women are clustered in four occupations; clerical, service, school teaching (elementary) and sales. Male workers are more widely disbursed--

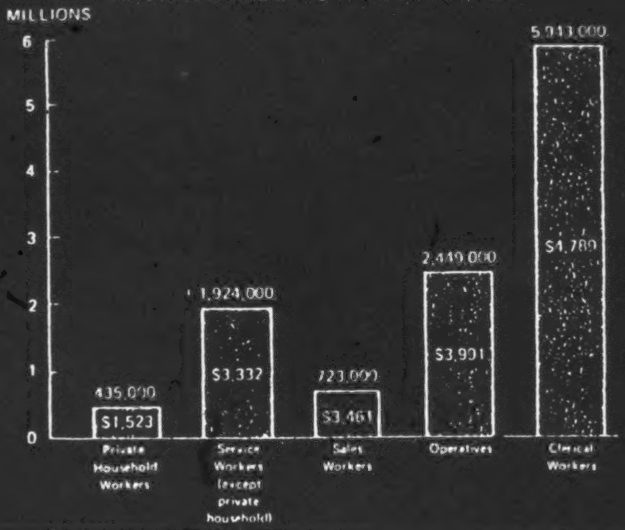
50% in 65 occupations. Sixty percent of women are in white collar occupations compared to 40% of men. Most of these white collar jobs are secretarial or clerical jobs. In addition to the high percentage of women in low-paying white collar jobs, a larger percentage of women are in the service occupations. These are typically low-paying low status jobs: waitresses, cooks, hospital attendants, beauticians and elevator operators. [10] (See Figure 7)

Women have not become involved in training programs that would enable them to move up and out of these low-paying jobs. Of the women enrolled in federally funded job training programs, 55% were in home economic classes, 32% were learning office skills, and 5% were in trades and industry. (Beauty-culture, consumer foods and power machine operators.) Only 1% were in technical education training programs.

FIG 7

MILLIONS OF WOMEN ARE IN LOW PAID OCCUPATIONS**

(Year Round Full Time[1] Women Workers, by Selected Occupations and Median Wage or Salary Income, 1968)



[1] 50 to 52 weeks a year, 35 hours or more a week

In sum, women are seen as naturally suited for and as doing best in the lowest-paying, least prestigious jobs.

Pay Rates

One natural result of the concentration of women in low-paying jobs at all levels is the earning gap between men and women. This gap has been widening in the last fifteen years. In 1955, full-time women workers' median income (yearly) was 64% of men's. In 1960, it was 61% and in 1968 only 58% The latest figures from 1969, show that it was up to 60%, the highest in the decade but still below the 1960 figure.[11]
(See Figure 8)

Among full-time year-round workers in 1969, 60% of the women earned $5,000 or less. Only 20% of male workers earned this little. At the other end of the wage scale, only 5% of the women workers earned

THE EARNINGS GAP BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN REMAINS WIDE

(Median Wage or Salary Income of Year Round Full Time[1] Workers, by Sex, 1957-68

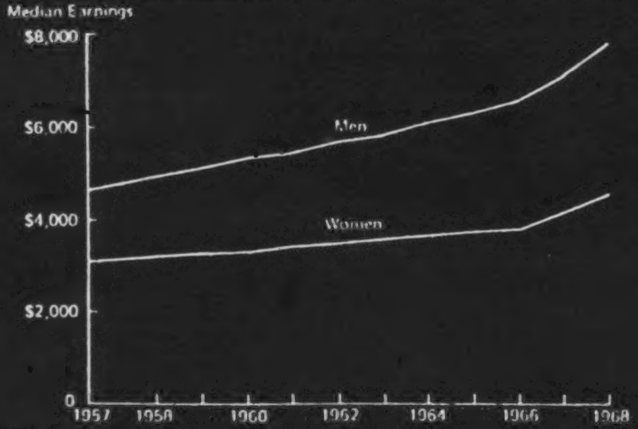


FIG 8

[1] 50 to 52 weeks a year, 35 hours or more a week

[2] Data for 1967 and 1968 are not strictly comparable with prior years since they include earnings of self employed persons

$10,000 or more compared to 35% of males.[12] (See Figure 9)

Arguments Against Equal Treatment for Women

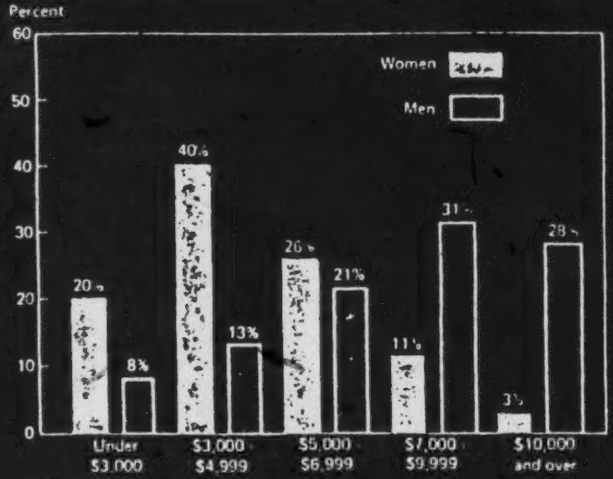
What are some of the reasons given by employers for these wage differences?

1. Women are absent from work more than men. In fact, a Public Health Service Study on absenteeism in 1967 shows that although rates are slightly higher for women, men tended to be out longer and were more likely to be out for chronic illnesses (heart trouble, etc.) than women. Thus, the total loss to the American economy was slightly greater for absenteeism among men than among women.

2. You can't count on a woman staying on the job; there is more turnover among women. In fact, women, if measured in all age groups, are less likely to quit their jobs than men. A Bureau of Labor Statistics occupation mobility study showed 7% of the women and 10% of the men held different jobs in January of 1966

FIG 9 WOMEN ARE 3 TIMES AS LIKELY AS MEN TO EARN LESS THAN $5,000 FOR YEAR ROUND FULL-TIME[1] WORK

(Year Round Full Time Workers, by Total Money Earnings and Sex, 1968)



[1] 50 to 52 weeks a year, 35 hours or more a week

than in January of 1965.

3. Women cannot be trusted in more prestigious, high paying jobs. Women are seen as too emotional, too likely to be personal, too likely to lose their temper, and psychologically unstable.

4. Women deserve lower salaries than men because they aren't main wage earners. (heads of families). The 1970 census shows that one family in ten was headed by a woman and that 33% of these lived in poverty.[13] Despite the movement of poor families out of poverty in the last decade, the number of poor families headed by women remained unchanged. They were not affected by the high employment and high income growth in the 1960's. Particularly hard-hit are poor, urban black families, 66% of which are headed by women. Poverty is directly related to the low-wages paid to semi-skilled or unskilled

women workers and to a lack of full-time employment for working mothers. Women who could hold full-time, clerical, managerial or professional jobs were able to keep their families above the poverty level.

Unemployment

Unemployment rates are consistently higher for women than for men. This is related to several factors. One is the concentration of women in low-paying, low status jobs. Women also tend to be employed as part-time workers. Women re-enter the labor force at greater rates than men. The unemployment figures do not include "hidden unemployment." These are people who have given up looking for work, people who cannot work as much as they'd like to, and people who are in jobs below their skill level.

Black Women Workers

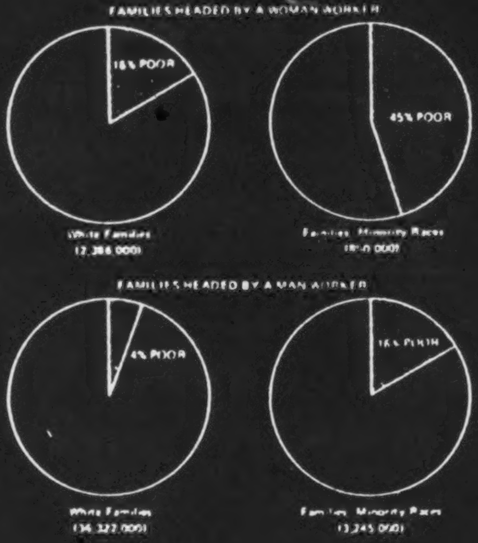
Black women show a high labor force participation. 63% of black women between the ages of 25 and 34, were working or seeking work in 1973. A greater proportion of black women than white women work, at all age levels above 20. Black mothers of preschool children are almost twice as likely to work as white mothers. In homes where husbands' salaries are $10,000 per year or more, one half of the black wives work compared to about one-third of the white wives work.[14]

Black women work for two main reasons: to support their family as a main earner or head of family, or to supplement their husband's salary. A working wife often makes a difference between a black family income below poverty level or at the modest adequacy level. (See Figure 10)

FIG
10

INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IS HIGH IN FAMILIES HEADED BY A WOMAN WORKER**

(Percent of Families Living in Poverty in 1968 Whose Head Worked During Year, by Sex and Race)



Black college graduates have a stronger work orientation than white women college graduates. In a study of graduating seniors, 50% of the black women say they expect to combine marriage and children and employment. This compared to only 14% of the white seniors. Highly educated black women have exceptionally high labor force participation rates. 87% of black women with five or more years of college were working in 1969, as compared to only 67% of white women with this education.

Although black women college graduates develop very well, in wages earned they represent a kind of minority of all black women. Jobs held by black women are typified by low wages. This puts black women at the bottom of the wage scale. For example, private household workers (65% non-white) had a median full time year-round wage of less than $2,000.

The Professions

The wine bottle sediment theory is particularly true for professional women. Women in elite professions are as statistically deviant today as they were in 1890, although the idea of women in the professions has become more acceptable. There are few women in the highest status and the highest paying professions: lawyers -- 3.5% are women, doctors -- 7% are women, engineers -- 1% are women, dentists -- 2% are women, physicists -- 4% are women.

The two field with the largest concentration of women are biology (28%) and mathematics (27%). Only 21% of all college and university teachers were women in 1970, compared to 32% in 1920, despite the fact that the 1960's was a period of growth in college teaching as the demand for college teaching increased by 42%.

This means that women have not made the gains in a rapidly expanding field that they could and should have made. This is not true for women in all professional fields.

The total number of professional women working in the United States from 1960-1970 grew at only 1% (one-half the rate that might have been expected.) In other countries, Great Britain, France, USSR, Israel, the number in professional occupations had doubled or more in the last 15-20 years. As a result of the rapid growth of professional women in other countries, 75% of the doctors in the Soviet Union are women; 16% in Great Britain, 20% in Germany, 37% in Poland, and 9½% in India. Women dentists are popular throughout Europe (a very high-paying position) 83% of dentists in USSR are women; Sweden - 25%; Denmark - 70%; Poland - 77%.[15]

/Λ

Fig 11

MANY WOMEN WORKERS ARE UNDERUTILIZED IN RELATION TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT**

(Women With 1 or More Years of College Employed in the Less Skilled Occupations, 1969)

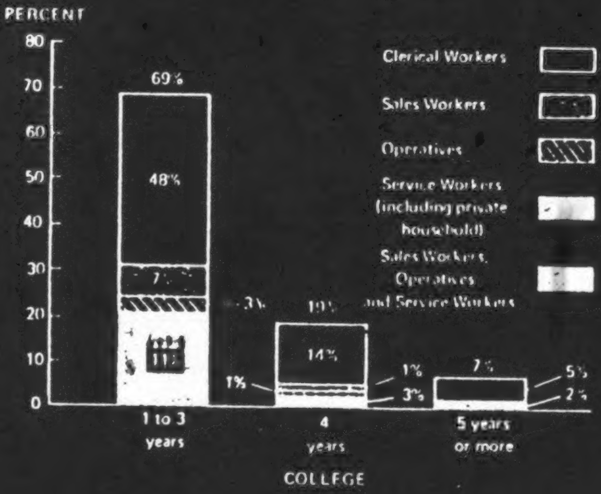
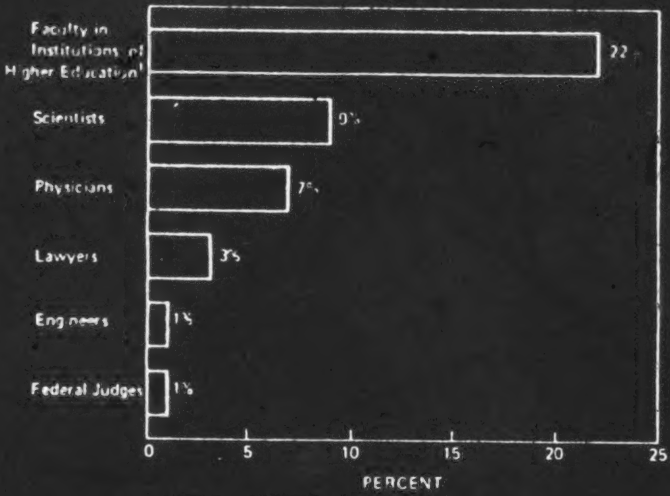


FIG 12

WOMEN ARE INADEQUATELY REPRESENTED IN LEADING PROFESSIONS**

(Women as Percent of Total Employed, Selected Professions)

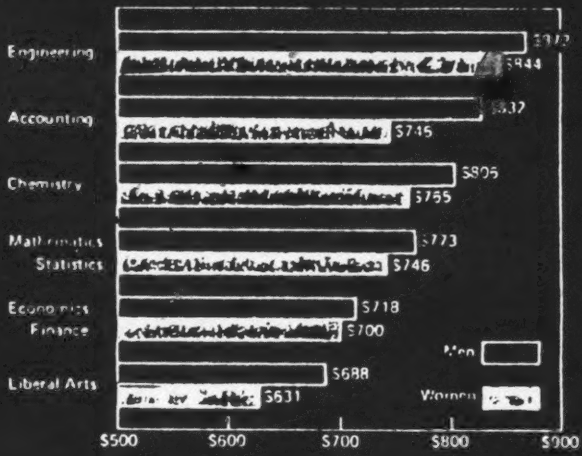


¹Includes other professional staff

FIG 13

STARTING SALARIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES ARE LOWER FOR WOMEN THAN FOR MEN**

(Average Monthly Starting Salaries of Women and Men With Bachelor's Degrees, 1970)



Only in the U.S. are there exceptionally low rates of women in all high prestige and high paying professions. Yet, educational training of women in the U.S. is high. In 1969, women received 40% of the B.A.'s, 35% of the M.A.'s, but only 12% of the Ph.D.'s, and only 4% of the professional degrees in law, medicine, etc. Their education does not seem to equip them to do much. (See Figure 11, 12, 13)

When we look at how these degrees break down, we find that most of the women are in a few fields: Education alone accounts for 38% of the B.A.'s received by women; 5% of the M.A.'s and 30% of the Ph.D.'s. As a result, two-thirds, of all professional women working in 1969 were in the fields of education (elementary school teaching accounts for 36% of all professional women), nursing, social work, library work, home economics, and related fields, and medical lab work.[16]

There is a sifting out process for women which seems to occur during the college years. A study at Michigan State University in the late 60's, of the top 1% of the women students, from freshmen to senior year, showed that those students originally intending to major in the sciences moved into the social work, nursing, teaching and home economics programs. From the freshmen to senior year, the percentage of women majoring in these "women's fields" went from 60% to 83% and this, it must be remembered, was the top 1% of the students as measured by objective, academic tests.

A fourth factor that may be at work is the so-called "fear of success" variable.[17] Also at work are the economic and sociological variables which include the lack of professional jobs open to women, sex typing of jobs to the extent that it is difficult for women to be accepted into graduate work or training programs in the "masculine" professions, and reluctance on the part of women and men to have women in positions of authority.

What happens when a woman does enter a male-dominated profession? In graduate school, women face subtle forms of discrimination. They are not as likely to be taken into the protegee system by their professors. They are less likely to be treated as colleagues, to be introduced by their teachers to professional friends or to be recommended for jobs, and, as they report from all over the country and from every field, "less likely to be listened to." Their status in their professions is suspect and the woman is viewed as unstable, even if she is able to commit herself full time.

Later, women are discriminated against in hiring:

> I think that when the State and our staff invest large sums of money and a great deal of time and effort in the professional development of a woman, we take a far greater risk that this investment will not be professionally productive than when we make a similar investment in a man.

Jessie Bernard in Academic Women reports that this is typical of the friendly male position in the University world.[18]

In a 1967 study of women PH.D.'s who were full-time employed, Helen Astin reported that as a rule, women published as much as their male counterparts, women were more likely to concentrate in research, more likely to be awarded fellowships and honors, yet reported they felt "left out" and had to suffer "lower" and "special" status.[19]

Academic Women

Often women in college teaching move into what Bernard calls the fringe benefit status positions:

> The term fringe benefit implies a status which is on the fringe of the profession...there may be occasional men in this status but by far the majority are women...They constitute an elastic labor pool, hired and furloughed as needed. They carry a large share of the backbreaking load of introductory work in English composition, modern languages, history, mathematics and natural sciences.[20]

Women in college teaching seldom reach the rank of full professor. They cluster at the bottom in non-tenured positions. Two areas where they are most able to advance to full professor rank are in education and home economics departments--but both these are now being taken over by men.

Even when rank is held constant, salaries, of women college teachers are below those of men. Women full professors had median salaries averaging $1,000 below salaries for men of similar rank. Two fields where women have entered in relatively large numbers, math and biology, showed three times greater salary differences between men and women.[21]

What are the implications for the future?

The Future

Working mothers no longer represent deviant cases. In the past decade the number of working mothers with pre-school and school age children has steadily increased. However, the stigma against working mothers is till present, especially as husband's salary increases and economic necessity is removed. As Lotte Bailyn in Lifton's The Woman in America, says women who work from economic necessity (or what is perceived as economic necessity), can rationalize their work and do not suffer guilt from leaving their families.[22] The middle and upper-middle class wife however, faces a problem of choice. If she works to fulfill herself as a person, or to use her professional skills, it is much more difficult for her to rationalize her working to her friends, family, and peers.

In addition, the better educated woman must also contend with Freud's sexual analysis of women and his theories of child development and personality formation. A woman factory worker usually is not labeled as having "penis envy" because she works; a woman college teacher or doctor is more likely to be perceived as neurotic or overly aggressive. Freud's basic theories of child development (although never scientifically proven) have helped to create an excuse for a mother's over-involvement with her children;[23] and these theories are a source of guilt for women who chose not to involve themselves totally in their children's upbringing. Oddly, the burden has fallen on the mother to provide intensive care for young children even though Freud recognized the importance of both parents in shaping the child's personality.

There are indications that the role of housewife-mother is not an altogether happy one, or even a desirable one, for many women. The typical image of the mother of pre-school age children as a fulfilled and happy person who dreads seeing her children enter school may not be valid.[24] In a Detroit study 200 mother of pre-school age children were asked: "How is a woman's life changed by having children?" Most answers given were partly or totally negative and expressed feelings of a loss of freedom and restrictions. (Children "tie you down," "tie you to the house," etc.) Four times as many totally negative responses as totally positive responses were recorded. Only half the women gave answers that could in any part be considered positive. The report concludes that this is possibly a very frustrating time for these mothers but their role demands certain behaviors so they must suppress many of their true feelings.

There is no evidence that a mother's absence for work hurts her children. No meaningful negative differences between children of working and non-working mothers have been found. All evidence indicates either neutral effects or very positive effects. Katheryn Powell found that the teenage daughters of working mothers perceived women as freer to "move more widely," "behave more vigorously," and to "achieve more freely," than the daughters of non-working mothers.[25] Grace Baruch has found that college-age men and women whose mothers worked, had higher self-esteem and a greater sense of self-worth than the children of non-working mothers. Daughters of working mothers also score higher on masculine traits than daughters of non-working mothers. (These "masculine" traits include independence and the desire to achieve.)[26]

Despite the more widespread acceptance of working mothers, institutions in our society have not been changed to meet the needs of these women and their families. The problems of the working mother are largely ignored.

There is a particular need for child care for pre-school children. In 1969, only 6 percent of the children under six with working mothers were enrolled in child care facilities. The limited number of child care programs do not provide for the mothers who would like to work if they could get adequate child care, and they do not even meet the immediate needs of working mothers with young children. One per-cent of pre-school children with working mothers "looked after themselves" while their mothers worked and 20% of children aged 6 to 11 whose mothers worked "looked after themselves". The figures for young teenage children of working mothers are much higher.

Traditional job structures have not been modified to permit more part-time work and a more flexible schedule for mothers and fathers of young children. Maternity benefits can and should be provided through an orderly sick leave and hospitalization procedure. Most employers provide sick leave and hospital benefits to men but specifically exclude maternity leave. Paternity benefits could be provided to both men and women with newborn children under present sick leave and hospitalization plans. Flexible work hours, a greater acceptance of part-time work, and adequate procedures to handle maternity leave would enable many women to continue to work during their child rearing years and it would reduce the number of women who face problems in re-entering the labor force after years of child-rearing.

The outlook for women professionals is not good. Women must find different jobs or be cut out of the labor market or work in jobs that do not use their skills. Women will be especially hurt by the lack of teaching jobs. This will be the result of an over supply of teachers and a greater number of men entering elementary and secondary school teaching.

One theory is that women move into the labor market when a new supply of jobs is available, not because they suddenly feel they want to work. The influx of women into white collar and secretarial jobs was made possible by the tremendous growth in the bureaucracies. Unless jobs are created, there will be fewer women professionals in 1980 than in 1970. Jobs can only be created by breaking down discrimination barriers, especially in fields where there are few women employed, and which show rapid growth for the next decade--medicine, dentistry, engineering.

Footnotes and Bibliography

All data as to numbers, proportions and d distribution of women in the labor force, median income, income differentials and unemployment and educational attainment come from one of the following three U.S. Government publications:

1969 Handbook on Women Workers, published by the Women's Bureau, U.S.Department of Labor, 1970; The Underutilization of Women Workers, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 1970 and "Women Workers Today," a brochure done for the Women's Bureau by the Employment Standards Administration , U.S.Department of Labor.

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6. 1969 Handbook of Women Workers, *op cit.*, and "Women Workers Today," *op cit.*, p.4

7. "Women Workers Today", *op.cit.*, p.3.

8. *Ibid.*, p.4.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p.3.

11. "Women Workers Today", *op.cit.*, p.47.

12. *Ibid*

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WOMEN AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

The state of community services affects a silent constituency of women and is often overlooked when issues are raised by women's organizations. Yet, women are not only consumers of community services when they are emotionally or intellectually handicapped, aged, ill or financially destitute, but women, more than men, assume the unequal burden of caring for the handicapped, the ill and the aged when community services fail.

The papers that follow address problems in the system of delivery of services in communities: to children, to the emotionally handicapped, and to the retarded. We have also included a paper on an interesting legislative proposal to reorganize the agency network through which special services are delivered. This proposal, though vetoed by the executive branch, contains recommendations that still command consumer and legislative support.

DAY CARE, ITS FUTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMUNITY

by

Margret E. Ellis
Program Director
Industry Community Center

Historically, day care is well entrenched in America. Its establishment can readily be identified with this nation's economic needs during the Civil War, the Depression, World War I, and World War II.

In many instances the comprehensive nature of day care was not recognized,nor was it the primary focus for poor immigrant mothers and poor native mothers who entered the industrial market; rather, it was activated to serve mothers who gravitated to better wages in defense plants, offered by industries shrewd enough to fill a labor vacuum with female labor.

Day care can also be identified with 150 years of nursery schools, which historically provided us with a basis for focusing cognitively upon the child.

The myth that there is not a need for day care remains because America fails to recognize that day care is needed, not just for children of working mothers, but as a supportive family service, for families throughout this nation.

For a minute I would like to digress in order to statistically lay out supporting data for day care.

1. There are six million children under the age of six with working mothers.

2. Twelve million employed mothers work in this country.

3. One out of three women with children under six years of age are at work.

4. Thirty-two million women are in the labor force, or 32% of all workers in this country.

5. Four million women of the minority

race were workers in March 1971; nearly 18% of this group were wives whose husbands had incomes in 1970 below $5,000. Only 20% of the workers of the minority races were wives of husbands with incomes of $7,000 or more.

6. In 1969 there were twenty-two million children, aged five [illegible] under.

7. There are approximately 640,000 day care slots available in licensed day care homes and centers in this country, for 6 million children with working mothers, and 22 million children, aged five and under.

The issues surrounding the need for a comprehensive system of day care include its high cost, splintered interests among various groups advocating day care in this country, and opposition by those who claim that such a system would sovietize children.

I would like to go on record as stating that quality child care is expensive.

Quality day care has been cited as costing $2,500 per child per year. Yet the need for day care as a supportive, viable, family mechanism for those who want it or need it has been established. The priority in this country should be to nurture and support this service to our children.

If you look at the vast financial support given to industry, and the support given to perpetuate projects such as the Vietnamese War and the race to the moon, it seems reasonable to stand on the sound principle that human investments should command the kind of financial investments given these ventures. We should, therefore, move to refocus our priorities upon "people" in this nation.

The defeat of the 1971 comprehensive Child Development Bill was a painful lesson in politics for the day care advocates in this country. The past lesson in failure requires that when another comprehensive Child Development Bill is introduced, we should have ringing from the halls of Congress, from the rafters of all State Houses in this nation and most importantly from the lips of every American, a demand for quality day care services for our young.

There are presently several things happening nationally relative to day care. In 1970, the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc., a National Day Care Advocacy Organization which is based in Washington, moved to present a four year plan for national implementation. This plan, under the leadership of Mr. Theodore Taylor, coincides with this nation's bicentennial celebration. The main goal is to bring to the American people a new focus on the rights of children.

There are presently two pieces of legislation that could markedly affect the future of day care in America:

The first is "Title XX (S-4082, H.R. 17045)." Introduced October 3, 1974, called the Social Security Amendments of 1974, Title XX was introduced by Senators Mondale, Packwood, Bentzen and Javitz, together with representatives Mills, Ullman, and Corman. It was jointly developed by Congress and H. E. W., and has the support of the Secretary of N. E. W. and the National Governors Conference.

The second piece of legislation is called the "Child and Family Services Act of 1974" and was introduced on November 11, 1974 by Senators Mondale and Javitz and Representative John Brademas.

The future of day care in the university and in the community is related to its future in this nation. First of all, universities have resources and capabilities that are unique because they are educational institutions. Apart from that, the institution of the university usually occupies an influential status in the community. A decision to establish a day care center on campus or in the community, should, however, include careful planning with those who will be the recipients of this service.

Where universities have departments of early childhood development, innovation should be encouraged in planning the curriculum for early childhood specialists to insure that teachers will feel comfortable in continually adapting the program to the needs of the children in their educational settings, community oriented environments.

Additionally, our institutions of higher learning must address themselves to the educational needs of the day care worker.

Many are heads of households, 35-40 years of age, and fear the formality of the university setting. Low on the economic ladder, they wish to develop theoretical skills to complement their vast practical skills. Universities should avoid planning programs for these highly skilled people in a vacuum. By moving off the campus into the community, universities gain the opportunity to enroll potential teachers with sensitivity to community-oriented day care systems.

Lastly, I see the need for colleges and universities to disseminate via various educational channels, the need for day care as a supportive family service in this country. This can be done by the assistance of a well designed public education campaign, "Child Care '76." Interested persons can write to the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. 1012-14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 or may call (202) 638-2316.

Other strategies to follow for persons interested in establishing quality child care in a local community might include the following steps:

1. Form a committee, or if you are presently affiliated with an organization, move to see if they will respond to launching the "Child Care '76" campaign.

2. Move to have a small conference with other colleges and universities in order to disseminate what you are doing in the area of day care.

3. Disseminate your campaign through newspapers, organization newsletters, radio spots and local television spots.

4. Communicate with local and state elected officials to assess their knowledge of day care: if they are uninformed.

educate them and provide them with constant information.

If these recommendations are implemented, another segment of America will become educated to the need for more day care services in this country.

MANAGEMENT OF A WRIST-CUTTING SYNDROME IN A COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH SETTING

by
Harriet E. Hollander Ph.D.
Susan A. Weeks M.S.W.

Mental institutions in the past used to accommodate minors whose behavior made them too difficult to be sustained inthe community. Now these adolescents have been discharged into their communities, which are unprepared to receive them. The wrist-cutting adolescent described in this paper represents a growing number of adolescents who "fall between the cracks" of existing community programs, cannot be retained in institutions and so go untreated.

The problems created by the release of patients from mental institutions to community programs which lack adequate support systems have been publicized in the daily press. The press has overlooked a common and major service gap, the absence of treatment programs for emotionally disabled adolescents.

Many homeless adolescents who are

not legally "committable", who are not a danger to themselves or others, are clinically dependent, impulse ridden, chaotic personalities. They made suicidal gestures, wrist cut, lose control over aggression, take drugs, behave promiscuously, or run away from situations that provide them with support and shelter. Despite their differing symptoms and diagnoses they are similar in social background. They tend to come from families broken by poverty, or emotional instability, that are forced to relinquish parental responsibilities to community institutions.

These adolescents pose special treatment and supervision problems in community settings; most communities are unable to coordinate the delivery of service to this population. An example is K., a seventeen year old female, abandoned by her family to the care of community support systems. This paper describes her efforts to break a long-standing pattern of institutionalization and adjust to community living. Her specific behavior symptoms, wrist cutting and overdosing, caused her to encounter special obstacles as she sought treatment in her community. The obstacles encountered by K. will be identified and recommendations will be made for their resolution. Her case is typical for adolescents with behavior symptoms seeking community help.

Case Analysis

K., at seventeen, had a three year history of wrist cutting and overdosing on drugs. On some occasions, wrist cutting was an alternative to verbalizing feelings; it was her magical attempt, following instances of family rejection, to punish indifferent parents who actively avoided her and tried to discontinue any relationship with her. On other occasions, the wrist cutting act was precipitated by feelings of annihilation and K. described her intent at these times as tension reducing rather than suicidal. Similar patterns have been described by Graff and Mallin in their article in "Syndrome of the Wrist-Cutter".[1] Light overdosing was undertaken by K. purposely to gain admission to a hospital. The act was her way of expressing feelings of not being wanted or cared about. But K. also resorted to serious suicide attempts and heavy overdosing was preceded by clinical depression.

The early history of K. appears to contain some of the etiological dynamics believed to be associated with wrist cutting symptoms. Rosenthal, Rinzler, Wallsh, and Klausner[7] have identified a pattern of physical traumas, usually in connection with surgical experience in early childhood, as a common factor in the history of patients who later develop self-mutilation practices. Apparently K. did indeed suffer repeated physical trauma early in childhood, though not through surgical experiences. She was frequently abused by her alcoholic father. Her mother reports he dangled her outside a second story window during outbursts of anger and while intoxicated.

Partially as a result of this kind of abuse, by the age of four, K. was taken into protective custody by a children's institution on court order. She remained in this institution for more than nine years, making only a marginal adjustment according to records. At the age of fourteen, close to the upper age limit of the home, she was placed by the child care facility in a State mental institution, not an uncommon disposition for hard-to-handle, homeless adolescents, prior to the advent of community treatment programs.

While in the institution, she attempted to cut her wrists. She also jumped from a second story window, a suicidal gesture in response to the administration's attempt to separate her from a younger sibling, by then also a patient on the adolescent ward. Having won her point, K. managed to form a protective alliance with her sibling, who remained her only positive family contact.

At the age of fifteen, K. eloped from the State hospital, eventually winding up in the emergency room of a local hospital. Following this elopement, she was officially discharged from the State institution to her mother's custody. The limited emotional responses of her mother fell predictably short of the patient's fantasies and expectation. Misbehavior evoked parental threats to return K. to the hospital. K. was reinstitutionalized after only several weeks in her mother's care.

She eloped again, was readmitted, and eloped in a recurring pattern. The hospital took a benign view of K.'s decision to establish life outside the State institution and permitted her to run the gamut of community agencies in her search for support. This same State facility also continued to readmit her, at her own request, or at the request of community agencies during the next several years.

Community Mental Health Mandate

K. continued to seek community services outside the institutional setting. These services had recently been mandated. Federal legislation, in order to assist patients in making the transition from institution to community life had provided for the creation of community mental health centers which were to provide the following five essential elements of comprehensive mental health: 1) in-patient services, 2) out-patient services, 3) day care, 4) emergency services, and 5) consultation services to community and professional agencies.[1]

There were also to be competent services providing diagnosis, treatment, living arrangements in halfway houses or other suitable facilities, aftercare and training. Furthermore, such services were to be available for all age groups of mentally disabled persons, with persons being eligible for all components of the service.[3]

The full range of services available to a patient in a hospital would be duplicated in the community. Consequences of isolation from family and friends and the stigma of institutionalization would be avoided.

Community Treatment

Services did in fact exist. Local hospitals in K.'s community had in-patient psychiatric wards. Out-patient care was often available at these hospitals, associated with resident training programs, and private therapists could sometimes be utilized in consultant arrangements. Medication could be prescribed at the county health clinic; diagnostic service could be provided by any number of community mental health agencies, and residential programs could be found in the listing in community services directories. The community could truthfully say that it supported day treatment programs, adult education and recreational programs, a halfway house and foster home programs.

Precedents for successful treatment, particularly for wrist cutting patients, could have been found by examining the professional literature, which describes the self-mutilating female patient with some consistency as one who evidences underlying depression, feelings of annihilation, guilt and tendency to be symptomatic as a way of releasing heightened tensions associated with the menstrual cycle.[1,2,4,6,7] Given the resources of family, shelter and daytime activities, treatment on an out-patient basis is apparently feasible.

However, without basic resources, the problem adolescent demands much more than treatment. Caught in the limbo between hospital and community based services, the patient who wrist cuts, while presenting an obvious need for treatment that initially engages staff concern, soon multiplies the demands for assistance.

Help is sought for after hours crises, for companionship, for welfare and living arrangments, for medication, and for transportation between widely dispersed services. Staff patience and support,usually provided on an ad hoc rather than on a systematic basis, soon wears thin.

From an agency point of view it becomes apparent that in return for staff efforts, the patient supplies a threatening, frustrating symptom whose very recurrence is taken as an indication of treatment failure. Staff is allowed to mobilize to exclude the patient, often by referring the patient for institutional care, although knowing in advance that she will not remain committed for more than a brief period.

From K.'s point of view, the obstacles placed in the way of getting treatment were almost insurmountable, despite a need for help and apparent motivation shown by involving herself persistently, albeit ineffectively, with community agencies.

Obstacles to Effective Service Delivery

Three main factors seem to account for most of the obstacles to effective delivery of community mental health services to emotionally handicapped adolescents with problem symptoms. These factors are: 1) exclusion guidelines, used to screen out unwanted clientele in established community agencies, 2) the existence of critical gaps in the treatment network, and 3) lack of centralized agency control over existing resources.

Exclusion Guidelines: Agencies, legitimately and necessarily, limit client intake to protect ongoing, adequately functioning programs. Most existing community residential services have been created in support of the mildly retarded, the mildly delinquent, orthe partially orphaned client rather than for the emotionally disturbed adolescent whose symptoms, like those of K., would be disruptive in a better integrated group of clients.

Out-patient services, offering regular weekly appointments either with a private physician or in a clinic setting, cannot be utilized by an adolescent with fears of control, disregard for limits and an inability to delay resolution of Monday's problem until Thursday's interview.

Even oral medication is difficult to obtain because physicians correctly fear that the wrist cutting patient is likely to store it and overdose.

Day treatment programs are usually few in number. They represent a therapeutically effective treatment modality, but they are often designed to serve minimally disturbed populations, older populations, chronic schizophrenics, drug abusers, or ex-offenders.

K. did successfully participate in one short - lived adolescent day treatment program, which produced a shift from her chronic reinstitutionalization pattern to brief emergency stays in the psychiatric unit of local hospitals. Supportive psychotherapy,provision of measured doses of insight, de-emphasis on the symptoms themselves and strong reinforcement for making positive interpersonal contacts and accomplishing tasks, in the context of this day treatment program, produced short run symptom remission.

However, this day treatment program changed from professional to para-professional direction. Anxiety over the containment of re-wrist cutting symptoms mounted and the staff grew weary with the extra effort required to find transportation to the county clinic for medication and of assisting K. with welfare problems and living arrangements. An exclusion process was initiated, resulting in K.'s commitment to a private facility at a cost to the community of $30,000 per year. Released to her community at the end of the stay, she faced the same barrier of agency exclusions. The private hospital, unable to extend care at a great geographical distance, abandoned its responsibility to her.

Critical Gaps in the Service Network

Suitable living arrangments constitute the most critical gap in the community mental health network for indigent homeless adolescents with emotional disabilities. Whatever the apparent effectiveness of a therapeutic program, treatment is defeated when congruent living facilities are not available.

For the first year following K.'s discharge from the State mental institution she shuttled back and forth between the county jail (which accommodated her when she had no place to go), an apartment with a local drug pusher, and the emergency wards of various hospitals. Entrance to a psychiatric ward could sometimes be gained following a wrist dutting episode, usually motivated more by desire to procure shelter than to relieve psychological distress.

One local hosptial, aware that it was functioning as a substitute family by providing food, shelter, conversation, and structure moved to deny K. admission, except in a critical state of emergency.

Foster care is not a viable alternative for most problem adolescents. K.

initially engaged the altruism and good will of various foster parents, but they were rarely able to balance nurturing with calm limit setting. Eventually, they would find their living modes and expectations upset by K's symptom expression. Despite their stated understanding that these negative reactions were directed against the unsatisfactory absent parents, K. would be returned to agency custody.

Finally, she worked out a living arrangement with a common-law alcoholic couple, who took on parental functions. This couple acted as caretakers of a brownstone and were able to rent an apart- to K. They also permitted her easy access to their company.

Despite some sharp emotional clashing from everyone's inability to set relationship boundries, living in the casual street culture proved a fairly viable arrangment. Deviance, while not approved, was ubiquitous. Mutual concern existed along with the confrontations arising from universal maladaptiveness. However, this informal parenting was not sufficient to provide the full range of rehabilitation, treatment, and structured support needed for K.'s survival. Community support was still necessary, but gaps in community treatment organized on a nine-to-five basis meant that K. was on her own for evenings and weekends. Not surprisingly, 90% of K.'s local emergency room visits occurred after 5:00 p.m. or on weekends when treatment supports were not available and when she was left to face panic and loneliness alone.

Absence of Control over Resources

The third and most significant obstacle to effective care was the absence of a single central authority capable of commanding the use of community resources. Lack of such authority meant that resources such as hospitalization, social service support, housing, psychiatric evaluation, and medication, always had to be negotiated; sometimes by K., sometimes by the staff of the agency with which she was currently involved. In practice, this situation meant that K. might become enrolled in a drug free residential program by the efforts of the staff of a community mental health agency, desperately trying to provide her with food and shelter, although the confrontation treatment modes utilized in such programs are quite unsuitable for emotionally unstable adolescents. An episode of wrist cutting might land her at the local emergency room which would refuse to admit her, fearing that she would be excluded by the treatment program, leaving the hospital staff to find her suitable living quarters upon discharge. Local juvenile shelters would reject her because of her history of emotional instability; a halfway house for emotionally disturbed patients would permit her only limited stay; and require *she* find suitable day activities as condition of entrance and so on.

Procedurally, finding service was time-consuming; often the negotiations did not produce the needed resources, was frustrating and helped convince K. that she could not make it in the community. Multiplied by a score of emotionally disabled individuals, the system of having an individual client or agency staff negotiate for fragmented resources instead of having a central authority controlling or owning them is untenable, particularly when each community agency erects its own barriers to keep out problem clients.

The absence of central responsibility also meant that formal communication networks could not exist between programs. Staff could not objectively evaluate decrease in frequency of symptoms or improvement in function. In the absence of such evaluation, staff hostility toward clients is inevitable.

Recommendations

Overcoming Exclusion Obstacles:

The exclusion practices of community agencies probably cannot be reversed, since gatekeeping is a legitimate agency function that operates to protect functioning programs from disruption. Community mental health agencies have often held a different viewpoint, insisting that existing agencies expand their function. Staff is sometimes oriented to make a crusade out of "gate-crashing" although emotionally disturbed clients tend ultimately to be excluded from any program that has accepted them with reservation and under pressure.

A better alternative, and in view of the desperate solutions resorted to ($30,000 per year for private care paid for out of social welfare budgets when community resources were not available), is the development of linking programs specifically tailored to the needs of poorly educated, functionally orphaned adolescents with problem symptoms.

Such programs, being community based, provide the adolescent with a more positive self image than would be provided in an institution; they offer the more natural challenges missing in an institutional setting. Nevertheless, these programs, though "open", must incorporate the protective features of institutional life, providing shelter, crisis management, and structured activity.

Eliminating Gaps in the Service System Through Central Control Over Resources

As the case of K. clearly demonstrates, community service providers, whatever their individual merits, are fatally weakened if they are not part of a systematic network of services. Development of such a network is unlikely to result from voluntary agency cooperation, though this goal is often pursued in vain by community agencies, sometimes as a result of local or legislative direction. Experience shows that interagency negotiations to provide complementary, interfacing services are time consuming, unproductive, and tend to culminate in meetings at which difficult patients are discharged, usually only temporarily, to the least resistant agency representative in attendance.

Responsibility for care of emotionally disturbed adolescents should, therefore, be centrally vested in a unit, based in either a hospital or residence, whose director controls access to short term hospital care, residential living and appropriate recreation and educational programs.

The director would supervise both residential staff and staff of the day program activities, and would have the responsibility and authority to assign and shift patients to the appropriate services within the network, precluding any possibility of denial of service to patients.

In this system, patients could be remanded to hospital care from the residence, when necessary, maintaining their activities whenever possible within the regular day programs. They would be returned, whenever they were ready, to their original residence.

Program Design

Treatment programs for disturbed adolescents are far more difficult, more challenging to design and have fewer successful precedents to draw upon than programs for the retarded, the delinquent, or the drug addicted adolescent. Therefore, the most expert professional input is necessary to create, train for, supervise, and carry out such a program.

Therapeutic Activities Rather than Group Therapy Should be the Central Strategy

The recommendation is that the program emphasize activities rather than group therapy. Activities, properly planned, would be the vehicle for inducing therapeutic growth. Educational activities in this context would be scheduled on a one-to-one basis, positive group climate would be developed in group sports and interaction skills would be developed in group meetings focused on discussion of problems arising over living arrangements. Discussion of personal histories would be reserved for individual therapy. Supportive, rather than confrontational modes of therapy, are best utilized by the emotionally disturbed adolescents.

Staff Training

Staff training would have to be an integral part of good program design. Formal training in developmental theory, crisis handling, activity planning, in observation and case analysis would take place along with continual processing of staff interaction.

Parenting Function in the Treatment Program

Finally, it must be understood that effective treatment for the wrist cutting symptom, or any other problem behaviors, can only take place when the post-institutional adolescent is supported by a care system that reproduces the parenting functions desperately needed by adolescents whose families have rejected them.

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STATE FUNDING FOR SERVICES TO THE RETARDED

by

Helen Kaplan

As an opening remark permit me to make the general statement that the system for the delivery of services to the mentally retarded in New York State simply does not work. Since part of the problem is rooted in the past, I want to spend at least a few minutes describing the anatomy of the problem within the framework of the history of the treatment of the retarded as of twenty-five years ago.

The organization I represent is the Association for the Help of Retarded Children (AHRC), Nassau County Chapter, and what I have to say is a description of the conditions which precipitated our movement. Since I am a founder, I speak as an eyewitness. Twenty-five years ago, despite a provision of the Constitution of the State of New

York which mandates the education of all children of the State, thousands of retarded children were denied the right to an education because of laws and regulations designed and implemented by the very body designated by the State to educate all children. I am speaking, of course, of the New York State Department of Education. By the simple process of drawing an arbitrary line through the retarded population, the New York State Department of Education denied all learning opportunity to any child with an IQ below 50. The rationale was that any child with an IQ over 50 was educable, and all children under 50 were ineducable.

Compounding the absurdity of this position was the haphazard way classes were established for even those retarded youngsters who had the legal right to attend public schools. Outside of the major population centers such as the big cities of the State, we had a huge network of local school districts which were obligated to open special classes, provided they had ten or more mentally retarded children with IQs over 50. By the simple device of not looking for ten retarded children, many districts removed themselves from all responsibility. Those retarded who were in school were either unidentified, or were simply carried in the regular classes for as long as they presented no problems to the teacher. If the frustrations of these retarded youngsters precipitated any unusual behavior, they were subsequently excluded on the grounds that they could not be managed.

From my personal experience, I can recall a number of districts where special classes were opened, but let me assure you these classes were everything except special.

It was not unusual to find retarded children, schizophrenics, youngsters presenting anti-social behavior, and even a blind child, all in one classroom with a teacher struggling against impossible odds in an effort to teach at least some of the youngsters. To be sure, there were some field personnel of the State Education Department charged with the responsibility to "police" these conditions, but I can assure you any effort in that direction was conspicuous only by its absence. As for children with IQs under 50, they were prisoners in their own homes; and the only opportunity they had to learn had to come from whatever time their families could give them.

Another aspect of history that should be noted is that by a gentlemen's agreement, the AHRC came into being to correct not only the injustices of the

State Education Department, but to develop a continuum of community services for the retarded of all ages who lived at home. The rationale for the position of the AHRC was rooted in the fact that the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene had jurisdiction for the provision of residential services for the mentally retarded, but provided no day services for children and adults of the community.

What I have said until now is a thumbnail description of the climate and environment within which the AHRC was born, and although we have a twenty-five year history, during which time we have amended or added a considerable number of statutes, it is a sad commentary upon the State of New York that we still must maintain an adversary position toward the government because of the lack of services.

The ten minutes allotted to me for this presentation will not permit a complete description of the changes which have taken place in community services for the mentally retarded. Briefly, we in Nassau County feel that we have established a model center which has most of the components necessary to meet the needs of most of the retarded. The one component we do not have is a residential facility for children and adults who are either too profoundly handicapped to be managed at home, or who have certain emotional disabilities which make their behavior too difficult to be managed within our setting. Our model includes a medical diagnostic and therapeutic clinic, parent counseling, pre-school classes, a training center for school-age youngsters too profoundly handicapped for public education, a vocational training center and sheltered workshop for adults over the age of sixteen, a day center for adults too handicapped to profit from vocational training, two hostels (group family living), after-school and evening recreation, a summer day camp, and a residential camp. Essentially we have a comprehensive center, but we have achieved it largely because of our own efforts, and more often than not in spite of the government. With respect to the future, conditions look bleaker with each passing day.

Perhaps the major reason for my pessimism is the Department of Mental Hygiene's recently adopted policy which calls for the return of a considerable number of retarded people to the community, without adequate services to meet their needs. The Department of Mental Hygiene has not changed its funding formula in nearly twenty years, and without increased aid no voluntary organization can, or should be asked to assume a fiscal burden of these dimensions. When the Department of Mental Hygiene removes residents from their state schools, they automatically shift the burden of care to the community, and it has been our argument that the money should follow the person. In fact, this is the only fair way a shift in responsibility can be achieved. However, as of now, all the Department of Mental Hygiene has been willing to do is find foster placements which will be paid for by the Department of Social Services, and pressure the voluntary sector to expand their services without any increased support. This attitude, compounded by a hodge-podge of laws, simply fragments responsibility, with the result that the patient slips through the cracks without any service whatsoever.

We have made many efforts to remove jurisdiction for the retarded from the

Department of Mental Hygiene, but although the legislature saw fit to pass the bill, the Governor refused to sign it, and it is my conviction that a smooth flow of service is impossible under the present system. The government may call this system one of checks and balances, but anyone who must work within it knows that the checks and balances are nothing more than a huge roadblock, or perhaps more accurately an administrative monstrosity which is both inefficient and extremely costly to the taxpayers.

Whether change will ever become a reality is problematical. From my own experience I know that whenever a change in law is recommended to the legislature, the perennial question is, "How much will it cost?". For some reason never fully explained, legislators in general believe that any departure from existing formulas must of necessity be costly, and they traditionally shy away from budgetary increases, particularly when the funds are for people. The tragedy is that it would be closer to the truth to say that improved services are not nearly so much a matter of additional spending, but rather one of establishing priorities and a far better utilization of existing monies. For example, when the voluntary sector spends enormous sums on administration, there is a hue and cry in all of the media which affects the innocent and guilty alike. However, for reasons that are beyond rationalization, no one seems to examine what part of the tax dollars appropriated for people is lost in the overhead of the departments of government charged with the administration of programs. Within my experience I have seen large sums of money appropriated for the mentally disabled, but any examination of the facilities for these people will show that only a trickle of the appropriation actually reached the patient-- most of it was spent within the bureaucracy. As a matter of record, the layers of bureaucracy developed simultaneously with the addition of new programs because the departments of government inevitably establish an additional bureau for that purpose. On occasion these bureaus are said to be temporary, but it is a very rare event when they cease to be, because the people who work in them will do their utmost to protect their jobs, and the layering process goes on and on. I do not know whether it is possible, but certainly an effort should be made to convince legislators that when amendments to existing laws, or new laws are passed, the appropriations for the purpose of the legislation should be clearly defined with respect to the percentage that must be spent on direct patient care. This is imperative, not particularly because the people within the department are unable or unwilling to do their jobs, but because the system which covers their actions is so cumbersome that monies simply disappear before they ever reach the people for whom they were intended. The only way we can stop this practice is to have the legislature and the Governor join forces to enact laws which will streamline the present method, and make certain that appropriations go where they belong.

There is a great deal to be done, and in my judgement, the role of women in the community should be one of active advocates to compel large, legislative action for change. I believe women are much more people-oriented than men, and this is particularly true in the matter of the needs of children. Let us have more women in government, and let us make our voices heard.

INTEGRATING SOCIAL SERVICES

by

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New York State Temporary Commission
to Revise the Social Service Law

Five years ago when members of the N.Y.S. Legislature created the Temporary State Commission to Revise the Social Services Law, it was primarily in response to the explosive growth of welfare costs and caseloads in our State. In spite of administrative assurances that "all was right" with the system, our legislators were skeptical of the soundness of the system and time has proven them right!

While we have not yet reached all our objectives, five years later and after much hard work, we have now

-sorted out and identified the many problems which make up the "welfare crisis";

-begun to develop reliable monitoring systems to tell us when welfare operations were not functioning as they should;

-initiated a series of welfare reform measures to tighten State operations and local administrative practices. These efforts resulted in the greatest decline in New York State's welfare rolls since World War II;

-clarified those crucial issues which need full venting in the public and legislative arenas before their final resolution.

And, most important, the Commission's studies and efforts over the past years have served as a basis of our legislative program calling for a major overhaul of both our State's public welfare and social service programs.

These recommendations are described fully in our legislative report, "Background for Action", which also provides the rationale for remedial action in the two main program areas which fell under the purview of the Commission's mandate -- public welare and the "social services."

The subject matter which I will address today covers the latter universe -- the Commission's proposals to develop a responsive and accountable social service delivery system for New York State.

It may be best to begin with defining what we mean by the"social services." While it is relatively simple to define certain programs like the health services, manpower services, and mental health services, the social services are not as easily definable. This definitional problem is due in part to the fact that no one institutional system in our State has sole responsibility for the delivery of social services. The fact that our State's public welfare departments were redesignated in 1967 as departments of social services, adds to the confusion.

It is important to note that in the Commission's definition of social services, we excluded the financial and medical assistance payment programs administered by the local welfare departments. We did include though, their "service" activities which fell under our definition of social services. The "service" programs provided by the welfare agencies presently constitute about 7% of their total program responsibility (or approximately $300 million out of a 4½ billion dollar annual expenditure).

The Commission's studies revealed that in addition to the Department of Social Services, there are eleven other major State agencies who are involved in the administration of social services which in great measure share common goals and objectives. They include

Board of Social Welfare
Dept. of Agriculture & Markets
Dept. of Correction
Dept. of Mental Hygiene
Division for Youth
Division of Veterans' Affairs
Education Department
Office for the Aging
Office for Local Government
Office of Parks & Recreation
Office of Planning Services

Through these State agencies, funds funnel down to literally thousands of public and private agencies which provide the direct social service programs at the community level.

OUR COMMISSION'S STUDIES INDICATED THAT OVER ONE BILLION DOLLARS ARE BEING SPENT ANNUALLY IN NEW YORK STATE IN SUPPORT OF THESE SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAMS. Of this amount approximately 85% are in public monies -- federal, state and local.

Although the nomenclature of the Department of Social Services would lead us to suspect that they have major responsibility for the delivery of social services in our State, in reality they provide only 28% of the public monies appropriated for social services.

It is important to remember that this billion dollar social service effort is aside from the funds spent in our State for money and vendor payments made under the public assistance and medicaid programs, and aside from expenditures made on behalf of the other public service programs such as health, housing and education.

I am sure that New York State's billion dollar annual outlay for social services, is equal to or greater than what many states spend for their entire "human services" effort. The magnitude explains why the Commission discarded plans to recommend establishment of a comprehensive "human resource" agency to bring selected human services programs under one administrative authority.The fiscal and problematic dimensions in New York State are just too great to effectively administer a viable and responsive service system under such arrangement. Experience has already shown that H.E.W. (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) doesn't work in New York City!

Not surprisingly, several communities in New York State, in response to the glaring inadequacies in the present method of delivering human services to their residents, have begun on their own initiative, to explore ways of improving service capabilities. Some counties are conducting studies of their own social service operations, attempting to identify their resources, needs, and service priorities. Some are limiting their efforts to establishing various coordinating committees, in an attempt to link inter-departmental service programs into an integrated whole. Other communities are moving toward establishment of "umbrella" human resources agenices, which will bring selected service programs under one administrative authority within the locality.

We have noted though that since most, and in some cases all, human and social service programs are financed with matching State funds, some local governments are meeting resistance from the various State departments and agencies involved who view these local coordinating efforts as intrusions on their authority to regulate their respective program development. It is primarily for this reason that the Commission feels it is imperative that program integration through a major restructuring of both local and State governmental social services machinery is essential if we want to achieve the improvement of services delivery at the community level.

The Temporary State Commission to Revise the Social Services Law as a result of studies made in selected communities across the State-- communities reflecting rural, small city, suburban, and metropolitan areas --reinforced what many of the counties themselves discovered. We found certain simple but crucial indicators of the confused state of affairs with respect to social service programs. Briefly they were that:

> social services are presently a fragmented assortment of uncoordinated activities in the local communities, provided under a variety of public and private agencies;
>
> access to them by the public-at-large is more by chance than by design;
>
> the present social services needs of the local communities and their relative priorities cannot be measured because of the absence of any systematic data about them;

> service output is taken on faith, not subject to any evaluation process as to effectiveness and cost.

In response to these problems, the Commission attempted to chart a beginning to the remodeling of social service delivery, one which would take its character from the diverse communities in our State and not from prescriptions designed in Albany.

The framework proposed by the Commission around which to build a service delivery system was through the creation of a Family Services Department --a neutral, community-based agency not aligned with any existing institutional system(i.e., health, mental health, public welfare). These Departments of Family Services would be established in each county (and the city of New York), with a counterpart State agency to provide technical assistance to them and to represent community social service interests in the State government. Local Departments of Family

Services, under the Commission's plan, would pull together presently scattered social service activities dealing with children and youth, adults and the aging, and families. Most important, these local departments would be charged with responsibility for providing information and referral services on all human service programs in the community to facilitate client access.

The Commission selected certain social service programs that were compatible, that is, had similar if not identical objectives, program responsibility and clientele to be integrated within the Department of Family Services. We felt this would provide a good beginning to pull together our scattered resources and an attempt to eliminate overlapping of service responsibilities. Specifically the social service programs to be integrated would cover:

Pooling of these services within local Family Services Departments would integrate, in the true sense of the word, the staff and money now devoted to them and would:

> provide information and referral services to those in need, eliminating the necessity of their having to shop around for them;
>
> eliminate any duplication and overlapping of efforts and, at the same time, identify gaps in service delivery;
>
> assure that social services resources are being applied effectively and purposely through installation of evaluation and monitoring systems.

Local boards of community services, operating in connection with the local Family Service Departments, would bring together representatives of all interests --voluntary, official, and the public-at-large-- to plan for the future social welfare needs of the residents and, more importantly, to see that present programs and activities yield maximum results for tax dollars spent.

The Commission's plan was considered at public hearings throughout the State and while there seemed consensus as to desirability for action, there was little enthusiasm on the part of administrators of specific programs for their functions to be included. In effect, each category of special interest seemed quite willing for the Commission's plan to be put forward, provided its area of interest were exempt from the service integration scheme proposed.

Also, there was some expression of concern about the Commission's recommendation to remove responsibility for the administration of social services from our State's public welfare system, which I stated before only constitutes approximately 7% of their present program responsibility.

The Commission feels that social services need not continue to be inexorably tied to the welfare check. While we fully recognize the need for a publicly-supported social service effort, we are aware that there is no evidence to date that social services provided under welfare auspices contribute anything to reduction of public assistance caseloads. It was this misguided assumption that back in the Sixties, attached Federal funding of these programs to the State welfare systems.

There are few families in our society who at one time or another do not seek supportive services. The typical family today, who may no longer be able to rely on extended family ties, may need to know where to secure homemaker services for an aged or ill person to prevent institutionalization, day care services for a working mother, advice in dealing with a troubled child, a nursing home for the elderly ill, and solution to a host of other stressful situations. No one living in our complex society is immune from problems which require the underpinning of social services.

So long as supportive social services remain tinged with the welfare label,many will be repelled who are in need of services. This applies equally to those who are in receipt of public assistance, as well as those who are financially able to pay for services themselves, without public subsidy. If prevention of family breakdown and dependency is to be sought, then those services which can strengthen family integrity and personal independence should be developed and made more accessible to citizens-at-large, and not be something tagged on to a welfare check.

Legislation embodying the Commission's

plan was presented to the 1974 Legislature. The bill passed both houses with bi-partisan support, despite strong misgivings registered by our State Welfare Commissioner and many of his local counterparts. Our Commission felt, however, that welfare officials in our State had enough on their hands to administer effectively and efficiently our $4½ billion public assistance and medicaid programs.

I must remind you that New York State's present AFDC ineligible level (17.5%) is the highest in the country and our overpayments rate (31.9%), the third highest. Our State's current combined error rate in ineligibility and overpayments is 49.4%. Using the State welfare department's own quality control figures, over $½ billion in PA and MA funds will be paid this year to ineligibles and in overpayments.

Is it any wonder that the Commission feels that the welfare departments must give full and undivided attention to the proper administration of the public assistance and medicaid programs?

New York State Welfare Commissioner Lavine recently noted that the State auditors found one of every four ineligibility errors and six of every ten overpayment errors were due to mistakes made by the local welfare agencies themselves. Commissioner Lavine further stated,"These cases aren't due to fraud -- unless you think of this phenomenon in terms of the agency cheating itself or the taxpayer. Rather, these errors can most often be traced to problems in internal agency management..."

Misgivings about the structural changes called for and about the time-frame specified; and misapprehensions about separating social services from the welfare check expressed by some private social work interests; and the late introduction of the Commission's bill led the Governor to veto the bill. However, the Governor extended the tenure of the Commission in order to give a further year's study to the technical problems of implementation preparatory to legislative action at the 1975 session.

In the time alloted me, I have tried to provide a brief summary of the Commission's proposals for developing a viable social service delivery system, in a true sense of the word, for all the citizens of New York State. We are fully aware of the problems that occur when any attempts are made to change the status quo. But change we must if we want to resolve the chaotic fragmentation that exists today in the social services area.

INTERIM WELFARE REFORM MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE COMMISSION

DETERMINATION OF ELIGIBILITY - THE "DECLARATION" System

Although the Commission recognized the need for less cumbersome, less complex welfare intake procedures, it warned against premature implementation of a simplified eligibility process, the so-called "declaration system". The Commission prepared a State and national review of the declaration system and its impact on public assistance caseloads and found the need to strengthen the reliability of this eligibility process.

In spite of the objections raised by the Commission that the testing of the pilot demonstration project in New York City was inadequate, and warnings that implementation of the simplified eligibility process would raise ineligible levels in New York State, NYSDSS mandated the use of the declaration statewide.

A. In 1971, the Commission recommended State legislation to modify the declaration system to mandate basic verification of clients' needs and income and utilizing the "prudent person" concept in administering these eligibility procedures.

B. In 1972, the Commission recommended face-to-face interviews for initial eligibility determination for both public assistance and medicaid.

- As a result of the implementation of this proposal in 1973, the NYSDSS Commissioner said that this recommendation has "proved to be among the most productive actions yet taken under the State-reform program."

- In the first two months of operation, 1 in every 5 active relief cases interviewed to determine their continued need for assistance was found to be ineligible and their cases closed.

II QUALITY CONTROL

The Commission as a result of independent reports and analysis of H.E.W. audits of AFDC and Medicaid programs in New York City challenged the credibility of the State's public welfare system's internal monitoring systems.

The principal questions raised by the Commission's reviews dealt with the reliability of NYSDSS internal quality control system designed to test accuracy and quality of caseload eligibility; and whether in-house versus outside audits provide the most valid and effective monitoring system.

A. At the prompting of the Commission, the State Administration took action which led to a State takeover of the federally-mandated Quality Control Program on July 1, 1972.

- Detailed DDS analysis of AFDC cases for the six-month period ending 9/30/73, indicated improper expenditures of more than $84.3 million in misspent State and Federal funds due to ineligibility (17.5% of the caseload); improper expenditures of over $52.4 million in overpayments (31.9% of the caseload).

B. The issues raised by the Commission concerning internal versus independent welfare monitoring systems was taken up by the State Legislature in 1971 in creating the Office of the Welfare Inspector General. In order to reform the State system so that both the truly needy and the troubled taxpayer might find equanimity and relief, this Office was established.

III SERVICE EXPENDITURES

In reviewing public assistance systems of other states, the Commission became aware of the availability of Federal funds to underwrite a substantial portion of social service programs -- the 75% open-ended reimbursement rates under Titles IV and XVI of the Social Security Act. New York State was not taking advantage of the social service funds available under these Federal programs.

The Commission's concerns were forwarded to the New York State Director of Governmental Operations by the Chairman of the Commission for immediate follow-up action.

A. The Commission in 1971 drafted legislation which was incorporated in the supplemental budget, giving the budget director authority to transfer funds among State agencies to take advantage of the Federal aid.

--Federal funds to New York State for social services rose from $67 million in 1971 to $567 million in 1972.

OTHER INTERIM REFORM MEASURES

Proposed by the Governor and Commission and subsequently enacted into law by the State Legislature:

1. Work referral measures joining efforts of the Labor and Social Services Department; requiring employable welfare recipients to receive manpower services while picking up their public assistance checks at the state employment service offices of the State Labor Department.

2. Consolidation of city-town welfare offices into the county system.

3. Authorization of the federally-mandated separation of social service activities from income maintenance with safeguard for adaptation to local conditions.

4. Provision for direct appointment of the Commission of Social Services by the Governor with the consent of the State Senate.

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5. Establishment of the State Board of Social Welfare as an independent agency to regulate the agencies and institutions prescribed for it by the Constitution of the State; transfered Board's administrative responsibility for the public welfare programs to the State Commissioner of Social Services.

The NYS-DSS Commissioner reported in August, 1974, that "maintenance of the present rate of decline (of welfare caseloads) through the remainder of 1974 will give New York State its second consecutive year in which a year-to-year reduction was achieved."

WOMEN AND HOUSING

A subtle form of discrimination exists against women in our society in the failure to provide the kind of community oriented housing that offers women genuine options when they choose to pursue career and family interests simultaneously. Barney Rosenstein discusses alternative housing systems that exist in other countries.

Ceil Langerman analyzes the State Mitchell-Lama program, once a vital element in planning adequate housing facilities for the aged and the poor, but now almost destroyed by the effects of escalating inflation.

COMMUNITY HOUSING

by

Barney Rosenstein
Attorney and Housing
Consultant Counsel to the
New York State Citizens Council

A BRIEF VIEW OF FOREIGN HOUSING DESIGNED TO SATISFY THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF WOMEN IN OUR SOCIETY

Before examining and discussing various housing plans, both here and in foreign countries, and the extent to which the special housing needs of working women are reached, we ought to first define the basic common term, "shelter."

Unfortunately, words take on different meanings and acquire new connotations with frequent usage over long periods of time. We are familiar, of course, with the common usage of the words "indictment" and "impeachment." We now know that they do not mean conviction but rather accusations or claims.

Rental of living space connotes the relationship of landlord-tenant, a term carried over from feudal times. When we speak of living space acquired through a rental or under a cooperative arrangement as "shelter," we have come to believe that the term means "air space within walls." But in our current society "shelter" should be defined as a total environment satisfying all living needs of the persons using such shelter, either man or woman, and supporting their relationship with society as a whole. Shelter should be a tool to make life more tolerable -- more livable.

If we approach the function of living space from this point of view and if the future of women in our communities is to be meaningful in terms of their ability to pursue careers or occupations, then our current design of housing requires re-evaluation and rethinking.

The nature of the housing design and the total community in which it is set, predetermines to a substantial degree the extent to which the woman can actively pursue an independent occupation and career. In this country, it has always been assumed that the primary role of women was to be a homemaker, serving through the various life cycles; the house, the children, the grandchildren -- constantly shifting her life role. This arrangement rarely permitted women to achieve individual status; the familiar dramatic exceptions only emphasize the norm.

Today, we know that the familiar, closely knit family is growing rarer in our mobile society. Women have moved out of this closely knit basic unit into the world of work. We must now start in this country with the premise that women hold up half of our economic sky; then, with such assumptions, we must begin to insist that housing be designed to meet women's new varied roles and needs. In my visit with a group of other housing consultants to numerous countries in Europe and the Soviet Union, sharp differences in recognizing the fact that women are partners in production and in the economy became apparent. The inclusion of day care centers, kindergartens, community dining rooms and collective home services was an integral part of housing programs in such foreign countries; on the other hand, in this state, the recent Youth Facilities Act designed as a catalyst for the production of day care centers has produced few if any, such facilities. Construction funds have not been made available by the state.

Some illustrations from abroad should be of interest. In Copenhagen, Denmark the Hoje Siborg Project has included within it: community dining facilities, a nursery, and a switchboard to receive tenant messages. Additionally, housekeeping services at a small charge are available to the tenants.

In Sweden, affirmative steps have been taken for a long time to remove all obstacles so that women can pursue independent careers. Swedish society does not believe that women have two separate roles. The national government in Sweden actively makes loans to provide day care and nursery centers. Moreover, Sweden has recognized the need for providing day care and nurseries for handicapped children. The concept of service apartments providing collective household services are much in vogue in Stockholm. This concept recognizes through housing design that the male will not be the sole working adult. The concept of collective housekeeping services would well be included in our own designs.

Studies show that the benefit of human contact is an important feature in community facilities. The community dining room becomes the most popular of all service arrangements. Such service arrangements were much in demand by the handicapped and the aged in European housing communities.

It may well be that the 1921 Swedish marriage law was the catalyst for new housing design. Under Swedish law, man and woman are formally each other's equals, even within the family. Under provisions of this marriage law of 1921, we read that "man and woman owe each other fidelity and support, and shall jointly and in consultation with each other serve the family's best interests. Neither has a greater right to decide than the other, and each shall dispose of his or her own labor."

The new self-contained towns created in England just outside London, such as Welwyn Garden City, carry forward the same general concept that operates in Swedish housing. Special provision is made for the elderly and retired. Craft stalls have been built where retired craftsmen can continue to pursue their skills in a productive manner, providing an alternative to employment in the large factory in the town and offering some degree of dignity to the individual retiree. This new town also provides "wardens" for the elderly. An aged person in an emergency can thus contact the "warden" by a direct phone and secure immediate assistance. Best of all, the aged live in housing where the common facilities bring them together with human beings of all ages, in much needed common contact.

In visiting cities like Leningrad and Moscow in the Soviet Union, we were reminded that for a long time women have been considered a necessary and major part of the work force. Therefore, automatically, all housing is designed from its inception with all the requisite facilities built in, allowing women to take their own places in the outside world.

Recent visitors to the People's Republic of China return with reports of housing designed to make certain that the "liberated" Chinese woman can actively participate in the work force. Work,as we know, is glorified and honored in Chinese society. Therefore, both in the housing and in the factories of the People's Republic provisions are made for taking care of the children from infancy and on through childhood.

When child care is located in the factories, some of the workers are chosen to supervise the children on a full-time basis. In communal housing, kindergartens operate on a 24-hour basis, since from time to time the parents are assigned to work away from their homes. The current literature reports that the Chinese children do well on such arrangements. Similar lifestyles are found on the Israeli kibbutz.

Of course, we are well aware of the current problems of producing novel housing in this country. However, since most of our housing is financed, subsidized and supervised by some government agency, after being initiated and sponsored by a large foundation or trade union, such partnership does seem to offer the opportunity to initiate the needed changes in design. It is hoped that these community and governmental "partners" will set about to change the architectural standards so that the special needs of women in our society can be more readily met.

The delegates at this conference could develop resolutions urging creation of a special task force on community facilities and housing, through the departments of Health, Education and Welfare, departments of Labor and State, and through any permanent committees merging from the International Women's Year Conference. This task force could analyze foreign housing models and develop plans based on European and Asian designs, and work for implementation of new forms of housing in this country. After all, is it not a form of discrimination to fail to provide adequate facilities within proposed housing so that women can pursue their careers without obstacles or difficulty?

THE STATE MITCHELL-LAMA PROGRAM

by

Celia Langerman
Housing Consultant
New York State Division of Housing
and Community Renewal

The Division of Housing and Community Renewal is empowered to make long term low interest loans to non-profit and limited profit developers of housing in order to encourage the construction of low and moderate income housing throughout the State of New York. Mortgage money is raised by the sale of tax free bonds by the State's Housing Finance Agency.

There are three principal types of housing for which mortgage loans are available.

They are:

1. Family housing - both rental and cooperative. (95% mortgage)
2. Non-profit senior citizens' housing which has an age limit of 62. (97% mortgage)

3. Housing with special features for handicapped persons. (97% mortgage)

4. Staff housing for hospitals and other voluntary institutions. (95% mortgage)

To be eligible for mortgage loans sponsors must meet various criteria, e.g.,

1. Sponsoring group must be responsible. Equity payments 5% limited profit - 3% non-profit. (Sponsors can be labor unions, churches, eleemosynary institutions, etc.)

2. They must demonstrate need.

3. They must have an acceptable site.

4. They must have feasible, realistic plans.

5. They must have approval of their locality.

Now if these over-simplified criteria imply an extensive careful review of sponsor applications, that is correct. You cannot get a mortgage loan from the Division of Housing in a couple of months. If the sponsor's application is approved, he forms a housing company which owns and operates the development for the 40 year period of the mortgage. The Division does not own the property. The property belongs to the mortgagee or sponsor. So why come to the Division and put up with what is known as "bureaucratic" methods? Well, there are many advantages for both housing developers and residents to participation in the State Mitchell-Lama program. If a sponsor's application is approved, then certain advantages are available to the applicant/ sponsor.

These advantages are:

1. Low interest rate.
2. 40 year mortgage to spread out the debt, reducing the amount of the monthly payment.

3. Cooperation with the local governing body in obtaining tax abatement further reduces rent.

4. Encourages non-profit sponsors by making available seed money (10 million dollar revolving fund for advance planning, etc.) loans to enable advance payments to attorneys, architects and for land acquisition. The loan is repaid at mortgage closing. The non-profit sponsor really has no financial risk.

5. Allows non-profit sponsors 3% development, (97% mortgage). If a non-profit sponsor for aging applies for a mortgage, he must supply an equity of 3% of total development cost. He receives a 40 year mortgage of 97% of the total development cost. The sponsor's 3% contribution may be in the form of cash, or land, or development fee equal to 3%. If the sponsor cannot contribute land or cash the Division will work out the 3% development fee acceptable as equity.

6. Limits profit taking to 7½%.

7. Audits construction costs, and reviews rent through the Commission of Housing.

8. Capital grant subsidy program --now severly curtailed. Families pay 20% of their income for rent. The difference between the assisted rent and the market rent is made up by the Housing Finance Agency from a capital grant by the State Legislature. (The Federal Government is doing this on a nation wide scale, through Section 8 of the Housing and Community Development Law of 1974.)

9. HOPE - Home Owners Purchase Endorsement Plan -- used in cooperatives -- allows cooperator to buy into a cooperative by making a down payment of only $200 and paying the balance over a ten year period at a low interest rate.

10. Division requires good design standards. They are well above those used by other housing

agencies. This insures good housing for the tenants as well as creating a sound mortgage investment.

11. All State financed housing contains community space for tenants and the community.

12. There is an ongoing inspection of the premises and a review of the management and maintenance practices of the landlord by management representatives of the Division. The visits are usually monthly but can be more frequent if necessary. The expertise of Division professionals in architecture, engineering, management, etc. are available to the housing companies if requested. There is communication with the tenants via boards of directors, tenant organizations -- and the Division has had educational programs available for the training of boards and the creation of recreational programs at various projects.

All this has resulted in housing developments all over the state(including

Embury in Saratoga Springs) to which we can point with pride. At the present time, housing programs have been most seriously affected by galloping inflation. The inflation affects both the development, and operation of housing projects. Development and operation are now affected by the high cost of labor and materials, fuel and utilities. Housing agencies must now explore alternatives for low, lower middle, and middle income housing of good quality, with affordable rents. All talk of future housing is academic unless there is substantial subsidy, at least on an interim basis, from the Federal Government to reduce rents to what the low and moderate income family can pay.

WOMEN AS VOLUNTEERS

Pablo Eisenberg, Consultant to the Center for Change in Washington, D.C., has studied the implications of the "New Federalism" on private, and non-profit organizations which represent critical community interests such as health, welfare, general services, recreation, environmental protection, aging, and community improvement. Emphasizing the need for "watchdog" organizations to monitor local government decisions and performances in disbursement of funds, he sees the necessity for women's groups, university groups and community groups to become involved in "data collection, analysis, program monitoring and development, budget formulation, community wide planning and rational public debate."

The implication of a call for voluntary citizen involvement as watchdogs over local implementation of federal programs are likely to undergo close analysis in some feminist quarters. There is a sharp and growing controversy over the current and future roles of woman as "volunteer."

The National Organization of Women (NOW) urges a sharp distinction between "exploitive" and "fulfilling" volunteer labor, arguing against the free provision of what are basically professtional services. The NOW position is rebutted by many women who choose volunteer community involvement as a life style. These contrasting views are expressed in papers by Ms. Doris B. Gold, Ms. Joyce Gordon and Ms. Nancy Dunne.

GENERAL REVENUE SHARING
A PERSPECTIVE OF COMMUNITY UNIVERSITY AND WOMEN'S GROUPS

by

Pablo Eisenberg
Consultant to the Center
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Washington, D.C.

It is no secret to most of you that a great number of low-income and near low-income groups, minority constituencies, local community organizations and public interest groups regard general revenue sharing with considerable ambivalence, anxiety, suspicion and, even distaste. For them, at this point in time, revenue sharing is neither "a dream come true" nor "an idea whose time has come".

The reasons for this perspective are many and varied. It stems partly from the fact that revenue sharing, long the private preserve of local and state government officials, has only recently become a public issue. A good number of people, moreover, don't believe that revenue sharing is the best way either to strengthen the authority and fiscal capacity of state and local governments or to help meet our most pressing national needs during a time of scarce federal funds for domestic programs.

The concept of greater local control without strong federal guidelines and guarantees has little or no appeal to disadvantaged citizens who suffered under such control a few years ago and were able to obtain some relief and increased opportunities only because of federal intervention and federal categorical programs. To the relatively powerless constituencies of the poor, near-poor and minorities, additional unrestricted federal funds promise little comfort and not many benefits in most political jurisdictions.

But perhaps most significant of all, community and public interest groups are concerned--and disturbed--about the way general revenue sharing has been administered during its first year of operation. They have raised serious questions about whether disadvantaged populations are receiving a fair share of the money, about the degree of involvement of citizens and their organizations in the allocation process at the state and local levels, about the manner in which the civil rights requirements are being and will be carried out, and about the extent to which revenue shared funds are being channelled to meet the most urgent community needs.

The failure of the Administration to honor its promise that revenue shared dollars would be additional money has done a great deal to reinforce public anxiety and skepticism. Linked with categorical program cutbacks, impoundments and freezes, general revenue sharing is seen by many as a part of a national effort to abandom federal responsibility for national problems of poverty, housing, employment and race. Its effects are being viewed as a redistribution of federal resources, not from the "haves" to the "have-nots," but from the poor to the more affluent.

The National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors has issued an appeal that general revenue sharing must not be caught in this dangerous "political crossfire," "Revenue Sharing," their statement declares, "must be placed in an historical context that focuses upon the development of our intergovernmental fiscal system...General revenue sharing, block grants and categorical programs are the essential part of that system. They must not be viewed in conflict with one another."

This appeal, unfortunately, runs counter to the realities of our domestic scene. There is still an urban crisis of major proportions and rural poverty abounds. The unemployment rate is a national disgrace and likely, as a result of the energy shortage, to climb even higher. As long as these conditions exist, as long as there are still over 60 million Americans in poverty according to Bureau of Labor Statistics standards, as long as Federal funds for domestic programs are woefully inadequate, general revenue sharing cannot and will not be regarded only or primarily as an intergovernmental fiscal mechanism. Whatever its original purpose, the public will judge its effects by the extent to which funds were used wisely to meet the most urgent community and national priorities and provided benefits to those most in need.

To answer the troubling questions raised by this new program, as well as to stimulate greater citizen participation, a growing number of private organizations are beginning to monitor general revenue sharing across the country. Four national organizations--the League of Women Voters, the Center for Community Change, the National Urban Coalition and the Center for National Policy Review--have launched a cooperative national effort through their local affiliates to take a hard look at some forty localities and six states throughout the country. Similar undertakings are being carried out by many other groups, including the Southern Regional Council, National Council on the Aging, the NAACP and several church organizations. A National Clearinghouse on Revenue Sharing has been established in Washington to encourage this process and to raise the level of public understanding and awareness.

One of the reasons such studies and activities have been undertaken is to complement the data collection and research efforts of government agencies that so far have all but ignored the people-related facets of general revenue sharing.

While national, community and public interest organizations are just beginning these formal assessments, they have been watchdogging the use of revenue shared funds since the passage of the General

Revenue Sharing Act. Let me summarize their tentative findings, based on a year's observation of the program.

Citizen Participation

If there was one feature of general revenue sharing that citizen's groups, despite their suspicion and skepticism, saw as positive, it was the opportunity for greater citizen involvement in local and state government decision-making. They saw general revenue sharing as a handle that could possibly turn the total budget process into a more open and responsive instrument of government for all citizens. Though neither the legislation nor the regulations included any requirements for citizen participation, the legislative history and the Administrative rationale made it clear that this was to be a significant part of the program.

Despite the many assertions and the rhetoric emanating from official sources about the considerable extent of citizen participation in the revenue sharing process, the evidence from communities indicates that thus far, on a national scale, there has been relatively little citizen involvement in localities and practically none at the state level.

To their credit, local officials in a few communities have encouraged the public to participate in the allocation process, and where this has been done the results have been productive. In many, if not most, communities where there has been some increased public participation, the initiative has come from citizen groups...not from the mayors, county commissioners or legislative councils. In too many jurisdictions the budget process remains a closed, esoteric exercise cocooned by *pro forma* public hearing procedures.

If general revenue sharing's intended goal of producing a more publicly responsive government is to be achieved, then local officials will have to provide more leadership in this direction. Most of the new mechanisms established to further the revenue sharing participation process--citizens committees, special hearing, reports, communication centers, etc.--are the creation of community and citizen groups, not local officials. There is a danger that unless local and state officials begin to play a more aggressive role, these mechanisms may turn into anti-governmental instruments rather than into productive links between governments and their citizens.

Use of Funds

While the amount of revenue shared funds now being spent on capital expenditures has decreased somewhat from the first payment period, by far the largest portion of money is still going to capital expenditures and public safety. Although the horror stories of tennis courts and football stadiums are nor typical, there have been more than enough capital and other projects that are raising some serious questions about community needs and priorities Only a trickle--about 4 percent--is being channelled into social services for the poor and the aging. In addition, relatively little appears to be going into some other programs --such as community action and low-income housing--which specifically benefit the poor. This is one indicator that the poor, the near-poor, and the minorities may not be receiving their fair share of the revenue sharing pie.

The uncertainty of future funding has been given as the major reason for putting so much money into capital expenditures. Citizen groups find this argument difficult to accept, since local jurisdictions have not used it with respect to other Federal programs that have had a much shorter authorized span of existence. No more convincing has been the refusal of certain local governments to use revenue shared funds to replace terminated or reduced social programs, ostensibly on the ground that this would merely reinforce the Administration's policies. As a national strategy accepted by all or most governments, such an approach might have made sense. In isolation, it has seemed more a cover for political considerations.

Distribution of Funds and Fiscal Relief

Of great and continuing concern to community and public interest groups has been the universal distribution of revenue shared funds to some 38,000 units of general purpose governments. Limited resources have been spread much too thinly. Many governments that did not really need a Federal bonus have received money. Others have received too little money to permit any significant programs or fiscal relief. Those governments that should have been absorbed by or consolidated with others have been encouraged to continue through their inclusion in the revenue sharing system.

On the other hand, those jurisdictions with the greatest social and economic needs, particularly the large urban areas, are not receiving nearly enough to meet their urgent fiscal requirements. The public is therefore beginning to question whether the country can afford to share scarce Federal revenue with jurisdictions that don't require them, leaving more hard-pressed populations and units of government inadequately attended.

There appears to be ample reason to modify sustantially or abandon the universal distribution formula and to provide a larger allocation of funds to those who need them most.

Civil Rights Problems

The civil rights requirements of the Act represent one of the few areas where Federal standards have been maintained. Both the legislation and the regulations define discriminatory practices broadly and provide a wide range of remedies, including the termination of Federal funds.

Though the administrative authority and potential mechanism for enforcing the law exist, civil rights organizations have serious reservations about the capacity and the will of the Office of Revenue Sharing and the Treasury Department to conduct an adequate civil rights compliance program, or indeed to oversee responsibly the entire program. With a staff of under fifty people and a compliance division of only five professionals, ORS is simply not equipped to review and, where necessary, bring into compliance 38,000 policital jurisdictions. Until a large commitment of staff is made, a truly meaningful effort will not be possible.

While specifically authorized to obtain additional assistance for compliance by delegating a part of this function to other Federal agencies, ORS apparently has not yet established any written agreements with other agencies to share these responsibilities. Nor has it initiated any of the compliance reviews, unrelated to complaints, also authorized by the regulations... particularly of those jurisdictions where there is pending litigation or unequal employment practices.

Some dissatisfaction has also been voiced that the Office of Revenue Sharing has not reviewed complaints expeditiously or taken effective remedial action where evidence of noncompliance exists. The agency has not yet followed through on its promise to initiate a system which, on a regular basis, would notify such jurisdictions that they may be in jeopardy of losing their allotments unless noncompliance is remedied.

The Office of Revenue Sharing, moreover, appears reluctant to use the deferral of funds, or the threat of deferral, as a lever to enforce compliance. A case in point is Chicago, where three organizations filed an administrative complaint to the Office of Revenue Sharing asking that revenue shared funds for the city be deferred until the police department, which receives 74 percent of the city's revenue sharing entitlement, ends it discriminatory personnel practices. The complaint is supported by an earlier LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Agency) study and an August suit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice which found that the police department still follows discriminatory personnel and promotion policies. ORS refused to defer funds for Chicago pending the resolution of the complaint, and sent the next revenue sharing payment to the city. It says it is reviewing the case, but almost three months have elapsed without any word about the progress of the review.

Civil rights groups believe that unless more forceful measures are taken, compliance efforts will be weakened and delayed. This will result in their being forced to resort to extensive litigation, a process costly to all sides.

Tax Reductions

The use of revenue shared funds by localities to reduce the current rate of taxation is also causing considerable concern among community and public interest groups. They understand the pressures on local officials from taxpayers, but question whether scarce federal funds should be used to lower local tax efforts and to support local political strategies.

Nor does the revenue sharing system

encourage the channelling of benefits derived from tax reductions to those who require the greatest relief. The legislation did not provide any incentives to reform regressive local tax structures. Too many communities are making across the board cuts and not directing these measures primarily at the poor and the aging. The cause of equity and justice might be better served by amending the legislation to permit local tax rate reductions only if these are used for circuit breakers to help the poor and aging.

Conclusion

As far as public interest and community groups are concerned, revenue sharing is on trial. Though skeptical, many have not yet decided whether they will support or oppose the renewal of the legislation in 1976. A great deal will depend on the way state and local officials use the money

...on the extent to which such funds will be directed at the most urgent community needs and priorities, including a fair share for the poor and near-poor, and on the way the allocation process is made at the local level.

There is a strong feeling that the existing legislation and regulations should be amended to strengthen citizen participation, the enforcement of civil rights requirements and a more equitable distribution of the funds. These amendments might include the following:

1. The requirement of special, well-publicized public hearings on general revenue sharing by all jurisdictions receiving such funds.
2. A sharp reduction in the number of eligible jurisdictions through the elimination of units of government that are not truly general purpose governments and that, according to some needs scale, don't need the funds. Alternatively, a sizeable

portion of local revenue sharing funds could be set aside for the most hard pressed urban and rural areas.

3. The authorization of tax rate reductions only for the benefit of the poor, near-poor and the aging.

4. A provision requiring the completion of civil rights complaint reviews within a specifically limited period of time.

The intensity with which state and local officials have argued for, lobbied for and defended general revenue sharing has tended to elevate the concept in some minds into a form of dogma that defies challenge. Now that the program has been in operation for a year, and its problems and limitations as well as its strengths have become more clear, it may be time to reassess its objectives and effectiveness as dispassionately as possible. Is general revenue sharing the most cost-effective and best way to strenghten the authority and fiscal capacity of state and local governments? Are there alternative strategies--e.g. through the federal assumption of certain services, state and local tax reforms or block grant to high poverty areas--that might lead to a more productive intergovernmental fiscal system?

Citizen coalition groups need to be active in helping answer these questions.

There is no reason why,with hard work, and intelligence, democracy should fail to be effective at the local level. Women's groups, increasingly convinced that revenue sharing is a significant "women's" issue, university task forces risking a break with tradition of aloofness from local affairs, together with community and public interest groups, can and should ultimately make an impact on local government, criticizing when necessary and cooperating whenever possible.

Just as these private sector groups have the responsibility to evaluate general revenue sharing and other alternatives in an objective manner, state and local officials will have a similar obligation, both to themselves and their constituents. The result of this dialogue, between public officials and private citizens, can and, hopefully, will lead to a stronger federal system.

VOLUNTARISM
FULFILLMENT OR EXPLOITATION?

by
Doris B. Gold
N.O.W. Eastern Task Force
Coordinator on Voluntarism

We in N.O.W., The National Organization for Women, view the current revival of unpaid service, voluntarism, as a government-directed attempt to reduce national costs of social services to the poor at the expense of work deprivation among women, youth, the poor, and the elderly. Quasi-governmental agencies such as the "National Center for Voluntary Action," and government funded agencies such as "Action" have issued the call of moral altruism to underemployed and marginally employed persons to bear some of the labor costs of social services. Unpaid, often needing pay, these volunteers provide valuable services to institutions which might otherwise seek their services for a salary.

The recruitment and expansion of a patch-work volunteer corps is not likely to make the delivery of human services more effective. The mix of volunteers, partially-paid persons, para-professionals, work released employees, and students gives the impression of sufficient personnel to assure services; yet, no other Western country has such poor social service delivery as ours. A patch-work volunteer corps may not make an effective working corps, but it is likely to have deleterious effects on labor, on expansion of occupational opportunity in social services, and on job development for women, youth and senior citizens.

Feminists, let me point out, distinguish between the concept of "affiliation," "activism," and "voluntarism." We are not opposed to change-directed voluntarism or to activist work in political campaigns, work for organizations like the Sierra Club, or work for movements like Zero Population Growth. This kind of volunteer activism is designed to spur social change. We focus primarily on opposing service voluntarism where men, women, and students are hired to work in established service institutions: hospitals, schools, libraries, museums, and family service agencies which have evolved paid staffs and are not in the first stages of their development.

Since over 60% of the cost of social services of this type is labor, (as opposed to 24% in manufacturing) it is becoming clear that private philanthropy groups, municipal, and county service groups, in attempting to keep costs down, have much to gain in consciously or unconsciously utilizing the existing component of service volunteers.

Is voluntarism exploitation or is it an opportunity for fulfillment? John Kenneth Galbraith, defines the phenomenon of voluntary self-exploitation in the small businessman. He is a person who is likely to equate personal satisfaction with work. He sees work as contributing to his feeling of being useful. Work is a positive way of structuring time.

We believe the self-exploitation phenomenon also occurs in middle or upper class women who are able to function as volunteers in service work. Service volunteering under these conditions appears to be an extension of "housekeeping" or "nurturing" on a community scale. We do not have a similar situation in science, mathematics or business, although students are changing the scene as they press to receive academic credit for volunteer work.

We feel that exploitation of women's psychic "need to be needed" and the machinery of rhetoric conditioning which leads women to socialize through social work within the community, supports not only social control, but is injurious to the future development of women's real work in society. Further, since most volunteer roles are in social service, it increases occupational segregation for women.

If it is true that by 1980, 69% of the jobs will be in the service sector, including social services, there is a real necessity for creating sub-technical slots for women and others in a job-starved economy. If these sub-technical slots remain to be filled only through volunteers, social service will become a aristocracy of women, students, and employed men given time release for service, rather than an area of job development for those needing income--the lower and the lower-middle classes.

Several other issues are crucial to a discussion of voluntarism. Is it proper for government agencies and private philanthopies to propagandize citizens to "volunteer"? What should be the response of service professionals to the volunteer movement? Is service voluntarism a way out of budget crisis when budget balancing battles between federal and local administrators have lead to increasing stinginess and an anti-service spending mentality at both funding levels? Finally, is the appeal to women to volunteer a sign that our system is indeed threatened, as women prepare to enter the labor force in ever increasing numbers? Further background on these issues is contained in our N.O.W. pamphlet, "Voluntarism, What It's All About" and in my own paper, "Economics of Voluntarism" presented in April, 1974, at the People Power Conference.

The response of establishment groups to N.O.W.'s criticism of service volunteering has been explosive. N.O.W.'s description of service volunteering as a system for women has resulted in more than two dozen magazine articles, numerous national and local radio and TV programs, and invitations to debate. An outstanding critical study has been produced by the Des Moines N.O.W. Task Force of the "United Way" in Des Moines.

The response of the National Center for Voluntary Action to N.O.W.'s criticism of service voluntarism has been to float various pieces of legislation. Among these pieces of legislation are those that would allow the IRS code to offer deductions either for the value of time spent doing volunteer work for charity, or to allow accreditation in some real terms. Ironically, this kind of legislation gives lie to the earlier protest that "volunteers do not do real work and do not supplant real workers." Even so, a shadow wage in the form of tax deduction has yet to be achieved. We note, however, that President Nixon, by supporting a government study on the value of volunteer work, unwittingly opened "Pandora's Box" which let out the concept of real value attached to volunteer work. HEW programs for senior citizens, child-care centers, and for A.D.C. mothers, have already stressed the need to create career professionals in voluntarism.

For the future, it appears that students, women, unemployed men and the educated in general, if found without permanent employment, in an increasing recessionist economy, will opt for some work, albeit unpaid, rather than no work.

Women are likely to accept pseudo labor in schools, hospitals, libraries, courts, museums and the like, and even real work as teachers aides, for which their nurturing, their adaptability, and their helping role mentality has conditioned them. On the other hand, their needs for real income and upward mobility may propel them to seek paying jobs and not settle for "status" and "affiliation."

We in N.O.W. attempt to raise the consciousness of women with regard to the value of women's work, whether this work be in the home or in the community. Women emerging from a subcultural system need to gain confidence and self-esteem to train themselves for new jobs. Women need to be expecially alert to legislative efforts to create part-time slots which would allow them to pursue both work and home roles at the same time, without having to pursue the "volunteer" route.

Women need also to be alert to efforts at crediting "women's" work in the house for social security benefits and to apply life experiences to academic entrance credits. And finally, we must elevate the prospects of women's future value to the community--not necessarily via unpaid service voluntarism in the social services--for these social service systems need to develop independently of voluntarism for the benefit of all Americans.

THE SKILLED VOLUNTEER

by

Joyce Gordon

Your program lists me as Vice President of the Screen Actors Guild and Special Assistant to the Westchester County Executive. You must have thought, "what a strange combination." It is. I earn my living as an actress, working mostly in commercials and dubbing foreign films into English. I've also done my time on T.V. shows and in films.

Most important to this occasion, I am a woman. I'm not a speech maker, but as some poor soul in the same spot once said, "A speech is like an airplane engine, it may sound like hell, but you've got to go on!"

I certainly don't pretend to be an authority on anything. I have had an active, I might even say immodestly, a successful career, as an actress for over twenty years now. I have also held down at least two and sometimes three or four voluntary jobs at the same time. My activities have led me into the areas of labor management relations, public relations, journalism, international forums, politics and government -- if you'll allow me to distinguish between these last two.

I even returned to college to finish a task begun long ago, and I earned my B.A. degree as a journalism major. My kids razzed me, but I did it and loved it.

I have found it all extraordinarily rewarding, enlarging, and enlightening. You can only expect one answer from me about opportunities and the future for women. I think they are good--very, very good--and getting better all the time. We're getting better all the time too, and that helps.

I'm not going to dwell upon

opportunities for actresses; that's just too depressing, but mainly it's so specialized, and so very difficult, that it's really not comparable to much else. For those of you who might be curious, let me give you a few statistics. Our union, the Screen Actors Guild, has 29,000 members across the country. Over one-half of us failed to earn at least $1000 last year. Eighty percent of our membership earns less than $5000 and only a little more than three percent of our members make over $25,000, despite how glamourous the profession may seem.

The same figures are repeated in our sister unions, AFTRA and Actors Equity Association. The common predicament in all three unions is vast unemployment. In Actors Equity alone, leaders estimate that eighty-five percent of the membership is unemployed at any given time. The average income is about $2200. Despite all the publicity you read about Robert Redford or Elizabeth Taylor and their fabulous salaries, the plain fact is that last year, out of 29,000 Guild members, only 133 members in the entire country, including big movie stars, television stars and commercial performers, made over $100,000. Only 980 made more than $25,000. So much for making your million as an actress.

There are really three general classes of actors: the extremely small number who achieve some level of stardom with the rewards and agonies it may bring: the larger, but still relatively small group of professional "working actors" (that's the nicest thing you can say about an actor you know), who manage to earn a living over a period of years as just that--working actors; and then the thousands and thousands who come and go and live on the dream.

So the actor's path is a hard one for every actor, but since we're talking about women today, let me tell you it's a lot harder for women. Now I readily admit that five years ago, like many a woman, my awareness of this fact was a lot fuzzier than it is now. Oh, I know, as every actress does, that there are more parts for men than women. After all, the generic term cops and robbers, cowboys and Indians, good guys and bad guys, which still are the base for most drama, clearly are in the masculine gender intentionally. Although every war picture has its love interest, it's still a couple of females and an army of men at the casting office as well as in real life. Even love stories are referred to as boy meets girl. Note "he" comes first; the story is about him!

But in the last year, actresses have become not only more conscious of their employment opportunities (lack of them I mean),but more curious as to just how bad it is and what can be done about it. The Screen Actors Guild organized a Woman's Conference Committee and undertook surveys of women's employment in our industry. The results have been pretty startling, even to us old pros.

RESULTS OF THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE COMMITTEE EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

	ACTRESS PARTICIPATION	ACTOR PARTICIPATION
Network Prime Evening Time Programming (3 major networks)	28.5%	71.5%
Sample of 560 Commercials		
Voice Over	10%	90%
On Camera Speaking Parts	37%	63%
On Camera Non Speaking Parts	40%	60%

The results show you that we stand a better chance when we keep our mouths shut. I also might add that last year 5,670 males earned $2000 or more, as required to qualify for our pension plan, while 3,500 females were similarly successful.

The Women's Conference Committee has joined the Guild's Ethnic Minorities Committee in publicizing their findings. They have made presentations to producer, advertiser and network groups and received favorable response and constructive action. They've also used their material before the FCC in hearings on television reruns (we think they are far too numerous) and on prime time rulings. Women are waking up in show business, and things are changing --slowly-- but changing. As they change more in society they will change in fulms, for we reflect life, public tastes and public mores. If, by the way, any of you harbor desires to be actresses yourselves, be sure you have talent, total commitment, and most of all, enough confidence to bear a lot of ego bruising and constant rejection. Of course, some financial aid would help too.

What I would like to talk about is the future of women in the community. I believe from personal experience and first hand observation that there are incredible opportunities today for women to "affect" things. That's how I can best sum up what makes my motor run, what turns me on: the desire to have a say in what happens around me, to me, to others, the desire to feel I have "input" of some kind in this big machine we call society.

I believe that most people, deep down, would like to affect things in a positive way, would like to get involved in something, and see it change for the better, partly by their efforts. And believe me, at this moment, women have literally unlimited opportunity to do so. It's not just our option; it's our challenge.

How? Well many are already doing it in paying jobs and professional careers, but more can, and will do it, through unsalaried volunteer work and through community activities. That's where women have a marvelous chance to affect other people and life around them.

Does the word volunteer bother you? You know the term connotes so much more now than previously. For instance, I mentioned before that I am a vice president of the Screen Actors Guild, an organization of international reputation. Well, I'm one of eight national officers and of seventy-two members of the National Board of Directors. We are all volunteers! We make policy, negotiate contracts, hire and fire our paid administrative personnel, and are responsible for all Guild activities and pursuits. Not one of us gets one cent! More significant is the fact that four of our eight national officers are women. I was the first woman ever to serve as a president in the Guild when I became president of New York's ten thousand member branch. Now the president of the San Francisco branch is a woman and I feel confident soon a woman will be our national president.

Are we affecting things? Yes. Not only in our industry, but in the labor movement itself on the international scene and in other unions, almost all of which have long been male dominated.

Recently the AFL-CIO Council of Professional Employees held a tow day seminar for women in the labor movement to educate women in labor to labor's problems, workings and contract negotiations. Two women today are labor union presidents. They are president of the Actors Performance Union (AGVA) and of the Union of Flight Attendants. Only four are vice presidents. A national survey of 185 top unions, shows that women fill only 4.5% of their ten highest appointed posts.

We in America always tend to think trends are exclusive to us, but to one degree or another they are international. Last August, I represented the Guild at a meeting of the International Federation of Actors. The "FIA," as it is known for short, has over forty member countries. This particular meeting brought together the executive committee, which represents eleven countries. The president of the International Federation of Actors is a stunning and brilliant French woman. The Screen Actors Guild, representing America, sent three delegates, one the top paid executive, and two members, both women. Russia sent two delegates, one a woman; Sweden sent two women members; and Canada sent one woman. The entire group was entertained by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario who also was -- you guessed it -- a woman. Chet Migden, our national executive secretary, told us that all the other women delegates and several of the men as well commented on the fact that both of our member delegates were women. He, of course, replied that he saw nothing unusual about the situation; the choice had little to do with our being women, but everything to do with our merit and ability.

Of course the key thing in his statement is that it reflects the lack of discrimination in both Chet's mind and in our organization. Merit and ability mean nothing if women are not allowed to function on a totally equal basis with men. I may say, conversely, that women, in my opinion, must not expect that being a woman is enough to earn a place. We must prepare ourselves, develop our skills, in short, be able to do the job.

In 1963 Charlotte Whitton, Mayor of

Ottawa said, "Whatever women do they must do *twice* as well as men to be thought *half* as good." Luckily, women do not find this task difficult. I think we are getting closer and closer to a single standard. I have sat on countless boards, through endless meetings, and served on too many committees to count. I've worked with some very important people, and people with all kinds of backgrounds and accomplishments. My experience in all these situations is that one's sex soon becomes unimportant. Actually, at the outset being a woman is a decided advantage, but as the work at hand progresses, it is what you have to say, to contribute, your ability, your intelligence, understanding, and initiative in the matter that counts. I have heard foolish things from men and brilliant things from women and vice versa. Keenness of mind, perception, incisiveness and articulateness are not determined by one's sex. Men who weren't smart enough to know that are learning fast.

If a woman wants to affect things in her community, the opportunities today are really unlimited in the area of community affairs and the political process.

Let's look at politics first. Today the one indispensable ingredient in any election campaign is the volunteer. The next most important ingredients are women. Put the two together and you've got opportunity galore. The simple fact is that although focusing on the party boss may still be a favorite campaign issue, that issue can no longer insure the winning of an election. The candidate with the mostest and bestest organized volunteers is the winningest nine out of ten times. The public doesn't completely trust, and certainly doesn't blindly follow the professionals anymore. But it's mostly because volunteers substitute for money and money is still the main problem in running a campaign, unless you are Rockefeller, or on his gift list.

The political arena is the easiest place for a woman to get involved and show her stuff. I'm currently involved in three different local campaigns. I live in White Plains, a city of 50,000. I think we are rather typical of what's happening all over. The former chairman of the White Plains Democratic Committee is a woman. She works part time in a Veterinarian's office, has four children, does all kinds of volunteer work, and was an unpaid volunteer as chairman of the Committee. Last spring she was elected to be the first woman member of the White Plains City Council, a paying job. Asked once if she felt there was much discrimination, she replied, "Not a bit, I like men and treat them fairly."

The current chairman of the Westchester County Democratic Party is a woman, the former chairman of the National Democratic Party is a woman, and the present Chairman of the Republican National Party is a woman. A young woman, married,with a small child, moved to White Plains with her husband just two years ago. She was vitally interested in environmental affairs and had led an effort in her previous community to stop the use of harmful salts on the streets during snow storms. She wasn't in White Plains long before she began participating in local groups. She ran against a solid favorite for a seat on the County Board of Legislators last year and won, not by much, but she won. She's doing a wonderful job, at a lot of things. She's expecting her second child, and she's still taking the floor of the legislature.

You don't need me to remind you of all the women already serving in elected office or running this year. I think there's a darn good chance we are going to see a woman Lieutenant Governor of this state and maybe the country's first woman Governor in a neighboring state. (Both predictions of the speaker proved prophetic in the elections held that year, after the conference.)

All a woman has to do is plunge in and she can become involved. A good organizer, an effective speaker, a creative thinker, an issue-oriented leader, most of all, just a plain willing hard worker can shine, can make a contribution, earn appreciation, and even recognition. Many a candidate for elected office or an appointed position is learning her business and developing her knowledge and skill as a volunteer worker in the electoral process. Women are needed in politics and in government. There are places right in government itself for women volunteers. Today, more than ever, as the need for services expands and government budgets don't, town, village, city, and county governments are turning to volunteers to extend productivity, to supplement paying jobs, and to enable government to do "extras" otherwise limited by the bery real lack of funds.

In Westchester, a volunteer bureau of women helped to staff the consumer telephone S.O.S. that was the pilot program for the new Consumer Affairs Agency. They will continue in this work, for no consumer affairs department is able to operate at optimum without volunteers. State, county and municipal departments of housing, environment and social services are often staffed with volumteers. Retired senior citizens have almost single-handedly developed the discount program for seniors in Westchester. They have signed up over 700 merchants and several large chains in just 2 months. They help countless seniors who come with problems about rent, food, medical care and so on. You can't imagine what it means to someone in trouble to talk to someone who understands and can identify with them.

Community boards represent another structure growing in influence every day -- important places for women to be. New York City now has sixty-two community boards. They are not only being recommended for greatly enlarged powers under any reorganization of municipal government, they've already begun to assert considerable influence on the actual financing of capital projects. They are providing input to the City Planning Commission and Capital Budget. These boards all consist of a variety of civic activists who receive no salary. Many of them are women. They are affecting their community in a major way. These opportunities exist or can exist in every community.

Then there are the hundreds of voluntary organizations in other areas. In Westchester alone, there are some 275 health, welfare and recreational non-profit agencies that enlist the services of volunteers, including orphanages, recreation departments, hospitals and community action programs. These programs couldn't exist without volunteers. Volunteers work in the P.T.A.'s, League of Women Voters, with veterans, with senior citizens, with children in day care centers, with convicts in correction institutions, with juvenile delinquents in probation programs. The handicapped, the poor, the emotionally disturbed, the educationally deprived are all being helped by volunteers. If you hear a woman tell you she would just love to get involved and "do something", but she doesn't know how to do anything or what to do, just tell her to call the volunteer action board in her community or the National Center for Voluntary Action in Washington. There is so much for her to do, she'll have trouble selecting.

It's my observation that the toughest time for many women is in their mid years after their children have grown and left home, or when death or divorce suddenly force a woman into a life alone, often without adequate funds. For a woman who has never worked for a living, at least not in years, that can be a frightening thing. As an observer, I went to a meeting for divorced women sponsored by a local chapter of NOW. It was an eye opener. The women ranged in age from thirty to sixty, but most were in their forties. Most had either never worked at all or had done so for a short time a long time ago. They were floundering and resentful and just didn't know where to begin. Not all were pressed to earn money. Many were just trying to put together a new and active life for themselves, but didn't know where to start. Many were bitter. Almost every woman there was a victim of the "why didn't I get out of the house and do something long ago" or the "I won't do anything until my children grow up" syndromes. I thought then, and I feel strongly now upon reflection, that this attitude is one of the problems. If those women had either gotten out and looked for a paying job earlier, or if that wasn't appropriate for their lives at the time, if they had undertaken volunteer work on a scale that would have taught them something, or taken some courses at school, they would not only feel more skilled and qualified and prepared for paying jobs now, but they would have more self confidence. The guest speaker was a woman dean of a law school. She was young, married, and had several children. She, along with other family counselors present, constantly urged them all to get out and do something: volunteer, go to school, or look for a job. That's my advice to you, and to anyone, at any age, of either sex. Eleanor Roosevelt said, "No one can make you feel inferior without your consent." I'll add to that, nothing builds confidence like doing.

The future of women is bright and promising in the public service sector, in the business and professional world, in the arts, in the university, even in sports, (thanks to Billie Jean King), and most of all in the community.

In community organizations, environmental groups, hospitals, schools, in political groups and in government itself, opportunities beckon women.

There are opportunities for:

> Women who seek involvement and who want to serve others, but don't need or seek a salary.

Women who already have paying jobs and want to do something else besides.

College women who are trying to get valuable on the job experience and find out what they'd like to pursue as a career.

Older women who in their later years desire to re-experience the pleasures of activity.

Women who either want to or have to prepare themselves for income producing jobs.

All can find in volunteer work the chance to learn skills, develop themselves, apply their talents and do things they really want to do as they help others.

The future is alive and exciting for women who want to get out and affect life around them. Hundreds of thousands of us are enjoying full and happy married lives: working, raising children and developing our self worth, expressing ourselves, achieving in areas that interest and inspire us. The great jazz musician and composer W.C. Handy once said, "Life is like a trumpet. If you don't put anything in it, you don't get anything out." And that's the truth!

A VOLUNTARY ACTION CENTER

by

Gerdi Lipshutz
Mayor's Voluntary Action Center
New York City

As an explanation of volunteerism, certainly not in defense of it, I offer Edward C. Lindeman's statement that "volunteers are citizens who act in obedience to the unenforceable."

The Mayor's Voluntary Action Center, a model for--and now an arm of--the National Center for Voluntary Action, is comprised of three parts: The Mayor's Office for Volunteers, containing a decentralized office in the borough of Queens, another in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, the "High School Volunteer Program", and a central office in Manhattan. It has an advisory board combining leading citizens from both the private and the public sector, which functions in an advisory capacity to the Mayor. It also has a tax-exempt corporation to receive stipends and grants for program development and maintenance.

The more than 10,000 individuals presently in our files fall into the age group between seventeen and forty years. The majority are engaged in an occupation; many are professionals, and one-third are male. The MVAC recruits and screen the volunteers, then places them into other city agencies and non-profit organizations. We coordinate most of New York City's voluntary organizations as well as acting as consultant to the corporate interests, other municipalities and, quite often, other countries.

We see the MVAC as a conduit through which the citizen shows his involvement with his community and its administration, while becoming aware that his government deals with his or her needs on a one-to-one basis without needless bureaucratic entanglement.

If one were to measure the volunteers' contribution by financial standards alone, the amount would be staggering indeed. On the basis of the minimum wage scale, if one projects payment for one hour per week for each of the 400,000 known volunteers in New York City, the monetary contribution of volunteers adds up to millions of dollars. Yet, the average volunteer contributes not one but three to five hours of his time to projects of concern to him.

The complexion of volunteerism is changing. Not only are most volunteers now occupied in chosen vocations, but volunteers are growing in the ranks of college students, males and citizens from low-income areas.

Legislation is needed and being sought to provide tax-ememption and insurance coverage in order to provide the volunteer with the status he or she so well deserves.

Volunteers are the bulwark of a democratic society. Rather than being the subject of attack and denegration, they should be recognized as the ultimate manifestation of human liberation, as persons engaged in enacting their birth-right to self-determination. If a nation succeeds in strangling individual responsibility, it brings about the demise of volunteerism and gives birth to totalitarianism. The MVAC of New York City rejects that kind of vision for the future.

VOLUNTEERING: COMMENTS

by

Nancy Dunne

Director, Voluntary Action Department
Human Services Planning Council
Schenectady

After hearing the comments and discussion by Cerdi Lipshutz, Executive Director of the Mayor's Voluntary Action Center in New York City, and Doris Gold, Eastern Task Force Coordinator of Volunteerism for NOW, I would like to present my point of view.

I related strongly to Ms. Lipshutz as a Director of Voluntary Action. Her office provides wide-spread opportunities to volunteers, but we operate our agencies in very much the same way and adhere to the same volunteer philosophy.

I disagreed with Ms. Gold's expression of the stand that NOW has taken on volunteerism. I believe that in the past, women have been put down and remained in the background as second-class citizens, but I believe that today's women are becoming more vocal and are taking an exceptional interest and positive action in what surrounds them through their volunteer activities. Volunteering is not dead, but more alive today than ever before. Voluntary action is drawing more people--men, women, and students--regardless of age, economic background, color, or creed, into the "people power" force. Communities are improving because of the strong interest being taken by the "volunteer force."

We are much more engaged these days in discussing who the volunteers are, what the force is that motivates a volunteer to give to a community, and the current concept of a paid volunteer. I feel that volunteers begin with self-evaluations of their own personhood. They find out who they are and what they have to offer. Motivation comes from that inner desire to share and give of one's time and talent. Volunteer Bureaus, Voluntary Action Centers and Departments assist in channeling the person and what he or she has to offer into an area of work desired by the volunteer, and into an opportunity that will meet a definite community need.

The present economy may have a slight dampening effect on volunteering, but I do not see the downfall of volunteering. Many employed persons are community volunteers who have called in the past months and been placed in challenging volunteer positions.

I have touched on the possible effect in the community if there were no longer any volunteers. What would happen to human service agencies and other community organizations if the volunteer force did not exist?

My opinion is that the taxpayer would pay more for quality service or the service would deteriorate and disappear.

The volunteer is a VIP - Very Important Person.

WOMEN: THE SEARCH

No meaningful analysis of woman's place in the educational world, of woman's place in the community, can fail to include an analysis of woman's perception of herself--now, in the past, in the struggle for a different future.

The papers in this section share a common concern with woman's search for identity, her hopes, her fears, her illusions, her efforts to assert herself. The papers have been written by women who have consciously struggled with both their professional tasks in the working world, and with the special condition of being female in that world. They write from the vantage point of their personal experience, research and work.

WOMEN: THEIR FUTURE IN THE COMMUNITY

by

Eleanor Holmes Norton

You gather for the next several days for as total a discussion of women and the university as has probably ever taken place in this country. You will look at woman in virtually all her roles within the university-community: woman as employee, woman as student, woman as volunteer, woman as consumer of university offered services, woman as reformer. To this comprehensiveness is added futurism. You will be asked not simply to look at what the present has brought to women. Bolder than that, you are asked to envision where women are going, should go, even must go.

It is not surprising that the setting which has produced this perspective is the university. University women are probably the most conscious of women in America today. They are among the original feminists of this period. As much as any women, their vision and their protest have influenced the very definition of modern feminism.

The reasons for this are clear. Superior education has always contributed to heightened social consciousness. Moreover, university faculty women have faced sex discrimination in its most classic sense. Many have been able to defy the sexual odds and win places on faculties only because of superior qualification. Still their rise up the professional ladder has been stymied by the man at the top of the stairs. Here indeed are a group of women who have something to complain about.

We should not then be surprised that the first women to organize collectively to claim their rights were not women factory hands but women professors. This is no more surprising than the fact that the early feminists of the 1960's were small in number, white in color and middle-class in background, or that they sometimes sounded radical in the context of the male-female status quo. Every worthy notion bequeathed humanity was initially the repository of a small and often cohesive and relatively privileged group. But the fact that the first Hebrews or the early Christians, that the early trade unionists or the Niagara movement, did not include everybody hardly detracts from the greatness of these traditions. The test is not where an idea originates but where it spreads. The steady spread of the movement for women's equality vindicates the faith of earlier feminists like those in the universities, that the concern for women's rights embraces all women.

In the same way, the voice of black protest until the middle 1960's came almost exclusively from well educated professional blacks, like W.E.B. DuBois, Mary Bethune, and Thurgood Marshall. Yet no one would dare assert that the bourgeois origins of the bulk of the black protest leaders made their movement a black middle-class movement. They spoke and worked for all blacks precisely because their superior advantage gave them the tools and the consciousness that flow from the enlightened education and background denied their deprived counterparts. The women's movement is about the majority of women just as the black struggle has always been about the majority of blacks.

It is certain, therefore, that all women owe university women a debt. By organizing early to take their grievances to HEW, for example, university women helped others to see themselves as plaintiffs, with all the risks and rewards that accompany that status.

Indeed, many forget that women did not rush forward to claim their rights during the consciousness-raising years of the late 1960's. When I was first appointed chairperson of the New York City Commission on Human Rights four years ago, the case load barely reflected women's concerns. Only one or two complaints a month were brought by women. The overwhelming preponderence of cases were brought by blacks. Race cases still comprise the majority of complaints received by the Commission, perhaps reflecting the 300 years of conscious-raising in the black community made virtually avoidable by the oppressive nature of American racism. But it is sex discrimination cases from women that have accelerated most rapidly. Women's complaints continue to be the fastest growing category of complaints received at the City Commission, with, it would seem, no end in sight.

The early reticence to bring complaints is not unusual for any new group freshly aware that they have a wrong for which there ought to be a remedy. Almost every group, including blacks, America's original and most enduring plaintiffs for human rights, took time before developing into an aggressively litigious group. But women have a distinct disadvantage. Simone de Beauvoir explains it best:

> Women lack concrete means for organizing into a unit which can stand face to face with the correlative unit. They have no past, no history, no religion of their own; and they have no such solidarity of work and interest as that of the proletariat. They are not

> even promiscuously herded together in the way that creates community feeling among the American Negroes, the ghetto Jews, the workers of Saint-Denis, or the factory hands of Renault. They live dispersed among the males, attached through residence, housework, economic condition, and social standing to certain men --fathers or husbands --more firmly than they are to other women.*

University women were perhaps more herded together than most, because they lived and worked in an institutional setting which facilitated contact, consciousness, and finally protest. Their circumstances guaranteed them places in the front ranks of the new female protest.

You will hear much about the woman as faculty member this week-end. I will forgo the gloomy statistics, though I am sure they will be laid out for you and that you will want to analyze their meaning before your deliberations are over.

For my part I would like to speak to you this evening both about the forest and the trees, about the cosmic and the individual, about what is happening to particular women and what weighty changes may fall to women collectively in the future. Thus, I would like to speak first of the experience of one woman to focus us on today's reality and today's struggle. Then I would like to reach to where I believe women are inevitably reaching -- toward decisive influence on the nature of change in America. Let us start where all protest, all change starts, not with many but with one. Let us start not with women but with a woman. She is real and I shall use real names, for her case is a matter of public record, indeed, in its own way, of history.

Her name is Valentine, yes Valentine

Winsey. She has a Ph.D. in anthropology from New York University. For these qualifications she was hired and worked for two years as an Adjunct (part-time) Associate Professor in the Speech, Psychology and Social Science Departments at Pace College from 1966 to 1968. Having come into university teaching through the part-time door as is so often the case with women Ph.D.'s, she was finally appointed a full-time Associate Professor of Social Sciences in 1968. She was characterized by a Pace dean who knew her work as "working hard" and "extraordinarily competent." But she had the temerity to want to become a full professor.

Dr. Winsey first came to the New York City Commission on Human Rights in July 1970 to file a complaint charging that because she was a woman she had been denied promotion at Pace, and that she had subsequently been given a terminal contract which denied her tenure as well. As a result, Dr. Winsey had resigned in protest in February of 1970. That Dr. Winsey came to the Commission when she did was a mark of her special courage and determination. She was, in 1970, a sort of pioneer, for as Commission statistics show, women were then still reluctant to come forward to file charges of discrimination and to commit themselves to the struggle for their rights.

The brief submitted by the Commission lawyers on her behalf discusses a root cause of the college's unhappiness with Dr. Winsey, a cause we believe infects universities in their dealings with women professors throughout the country. That was her determination to pursue her rights, to defy the notion of her place, to strive unreluctantly to advance herself in accordance with her high qualifications. Dr. Winsey had determined to appeal the decision denying her a promotion. Commission lawyers cited this telling reaction to her decision in their brief:

> "In his memo dated January 8th, Dr. Ford states that twice that day he had asked Dr. Winsey to reconsider her plan to appeal, advising her that he '...felt it essential to avoid any action which might disturb the harmonious atmosphere which we enjoy.' He also told her that he '... would not hire nor re-hire any person whom I (Dr. Ford) considered a troublemaker, that is, anybody who would threaten or do anything which would cause unnecessary tension and animosity.'"

Like the sit-in youngsters of the 60's with the audacity to challenge discrimination, Dr. Winsey quite simply was a "troublemaker," a word that appears time and again in the transcript.

But what corroborated discrimination in Dr.Winsey's case was not alone the indignities she suffered. It was the clear pattern and practice of discrimination against women as a group at the College.

What, precisely, did the pattern and practice of discrimination at Pace consist of? The points are worth noting; while the specifics are peculiar to Pace, the general picture will be repeated at most institutions of higher learning.

At the time of this case, Pace employed 226 people on faculty, of whom 46, or 20% were women. Of the male faculty, 46%, was above the rank of Assistant Professor, but only 18% of the females were in the higher ranks. In the preceding two years, the percentage of women hired above Instrucor level sharply declined, whereas the percentage of males hired above that level remained constantly high --one factor contributing to the concentration of women in the lower ranks.

Also contributing to this were the the promotion and tenure patterns, with which Dr. Winsey was most concerned. Award of promotion and tenure was based, as in other schools, upon length of full-time service as well as academic qualifications. Qualifications for attaining tenure were the rank of Assistant Professor and 7 years of full-time teaching, including four years on the Pace Faculty. Part-time teaching other than at Pace did not contribute to promotion and tenure requirements; summer teaching, even at Pace, did not contribute either. These were requirements that clearly worked against women. It is significant that by 1970 only 4 women had been on staff long enough to achieve tenure. By 1972, of 139 faculty members with tenure, only 8 were women, and while 73% of the male faculty was tenured, only 17% of female faculty enjoyed that security.

A similar situation was shown in turnover rates. The data showed that since faculty cutbacks began in 1970, the turnover rate for female faculty members had jumped 23 percentage points--from 0% to 23%, while the male turnover rate has increased only 2 percentage points--from 6% to 8%. Thus, not only were women the primary victims of cutbacks, which decreased sharply the number of total jobs available to them, but this pattern further decreased the number of women faculty who could accumulate the length of service requisite for future promotion and tenure. The higher termination rate for women derived from the requirement that Pace terminate non-tenured faculty before tenured faculty. But the lower representation of women among tenured faculty was due to past discrimination in hiring, promotion and termination. This interweaving of cause and effect is typical of discriminatory patterns. And it is a crucial characteristic that must be understood if the cycle which feeds a discriminatory personnel system is to be broken.

The Commission found, for example, that among the practices responsible for the discriminatory patterns I have just described was that broad discretion over hiring and termination rested with the Department Chairmen, of whom only one was a woman. Uncontradicted testimony was presented that some of the Chairmen had made comments revealing hostile attitudes about hiring women. One for example, claimed he did not like to hire women because they became pregnant.

Administrative officials to whom appeals could be directed had also shown disparate treatment for women. The Commission-ordered remedy, therefore, provided that the final recommendation for the granting or denial of promotion, tenure, or termination prior to eligibility for tenure, should be made by a committee of not less than eight faculty members, and that half of its members should be women. The Commission further ordered that any recommendation of denial of tenure or promotion to a woman should be submitted to the Office of the President for additional review, this to assure such decisions were not made lightly or without high-level review.

The Commission also sought to remedy past discrimination by ordering Pace to review all faculty salaries to determine whether disparities because of sex exist, and where found, to grant salary adjustments immediately.

The Commission further ordered that selection criteria for initial appointment, tenure, and promotion to each rank be reviewed for each department to ensure that they are reasonably predictive of successful job performance, that they do not have a disparate effect on women, and that a mechanism exists for according appropriate recognition to individual qualifications and merit. Such review will include an evaluation of the length of service requirements, teaching performance evaluations, equivalency standards for part-time and non-continuous employment, weight given to contributions other than services, and whether the opportunity to make such contributions is equally available to women.

Moreover, the Commission ordered that hiring of women faculty members must be maintained at the level it has averaged for the five years preceding the order, and the rate of termination of women faculty members must be reduced and tenures and promotions granted in such a manner as to show a bona fide effort to achieve a representation of women at least equivalent to the rate at which they are hired.

Finally, having dealt with women, the Commission turned to the woman whose individual grievance had produced this wholesale reform. We ordered that she be reinstated as assistant professor, that Pace pay her $22,650 in back pay plus normal increments ordinarily due her had she been employed, plus $1,500 for mental pain and suffering. Pace appealed and the matter is now pending before the highest court in New York.

Valentine Winsey's case helps us to focus on the real world that university women must meet today. But that world will vanish before it can be stabilized. Women are part of the whirlwind of change, and may themselves be at its center. Do they see themselves as the cutting edge of change that can make them into different kinds of people, and inevitably change men as well?

Indeed, it is change itself rather than some particular future status that I believe will characterize university women and many others for at least the next generation. Women and men are going to be called upon to make rapid adjustments in their perceptions and in their practices. They are going to be asked to accommodate to change where constancy has been the rule.

To the point of cliche you have heard all your lives about how fast the world is changing. For you change is synonymous with life. Ther is nothing about change one can tell people who in the period of a single decade saw the assassinations of four giant figures, the escalating convulsions of an interminable war, and the birth of half a dozen major social movements. But change in the status of half the country's people is a quality of change we have not experienced. Only if we come to grips with its radical implications can we prepare outselves for the coming period, for no issues are more perplexing than those raised by sex inequality, a universal phenomenon almost universally accepted. To change the relationship between man and woman is to proceed on as radical a course as has ever been undertaken. For here a laughable mythology sometimes holds sway in the most intelligent circles among both men and women. Sex discrimination, with the sanction of seemingly endless time, does not have the aura of perversion of other forms of inequality. Race prejudice, for one, is a phenomenon not of the ages, as is sex inequality, but a creation of recent centuries. Race hatred is a perverse deviation even from those religions that have condoned it and those civilizations that have allowed it. But sex inequality has been etched into the human condition.

Indeed, judging by the sometimes confused and hostile reactions of society, women's rights may not be an idea whose time has fully come. But it is nevertheless here. And it is an idea most especially of our time.

It calls us to the most formidable of tasks: to dislodge one of the notion's most firmly embedded in civilization. For the difference between the sexes has always been glorified not only for itself but for its very inequality. We prisoners of the 20th Century view that all things proceed from sex, rather than from God, seem loathe to tamper with the sexual order. Analogies to other forms of inequality often confuse rather than enlighten: the elimination of poverty will eliminate the poor; can it be that subconsciously we believe that the elimination of sexism will eliminate sex?

Can we doubt hard enough to discard the oldest form of inequality? We who can envision blacks and whites as absolute equals and an America without the poor and the rich--is there an America where half the lawyers and doctors are women? Or is that some other country, some other world, some other generation's vision?

Heretofore America --and every other people on this earth today --has looked to its men to do what had to be done. Whether we were for or against it, we expected the men to do it. Shake up industry, get rid of an economic crisis, keep us competitive with Russia, fight and die in wars. While the men were doing all of this, the women worked on narrower and quieter fronts. The men were the engines of social change of whatever variety. The women went along for the ride. But today women are the luckiest people in America. Women today, unlike so many others, have new purpose and new force. Women have just become somebody. Like the black graduates of my generation in the early 60's, women today are freshly alive.

Women are swelling the sheer numbers of women in the workforce, now already past 40%. They are infiltrating the male-only occupations, rapidly expanding the old figures that show only 7% doctors to be women, 3% lawyers, 2% dentists, 1% engineers. When they are finished, current figures showing unions with a membership only 20% female will have to be revised. They will reduce the shameful statistics that show 37% of poor families to be headed by women, even though women head only 11% of all families. Women won't be earning only 60% of the male average when they are through. They will see to it that a woman won't need a college degree to earn what a man can with an 8th grade education. They will quickly attack this stark assortment of inequality.

But will women choose a more total change? Can they become its vanguard? Will it fall to women --themselves in the throes of self discovery --to infuse the country with their energy? A decade ago, blacks did just that for this country. They demanded equality and passed on to other groups, including women, the universality of that principle. They decried poverty and began a change for many millions more who are white than are black. They exposed our representative institutions as unrepresentative and sent the country looking not only for blacks but for women and Indians and Hispanics and young people to distribute among the white male institutions which decide our collective fate. Black social energy raised or influenced every social change of the 60's from the demise of McCarthyism to the right of 18 year olds to vote.

Can women do for the 70's what blacks did for the 60's? Will university women be the vanguard of change even as the black university sit-in generation was? Can women call into question our historic premises? Can they make us discard whatever keeps us tied to a discredited past?

To be sure, their issues resonate with the same universal qualities as those raised by blacks before them. By demanding choice and change of role for themselves, they insert new choices and make more supple the possibilities for men. Their quest for day care for your children can open the young to totally different and exceptionally broad influences. Their concern to multiply little can create a style of life with boundless and unforeseeable possibilities for individual development.

No other cognizable group has the power of women to make wholesale change today. For women are not a special group. Women are everybody. Women are the blacks and the whites. Women are the rich and dispossessed, the Indians and the Chicanos, the workers and the owners. When they change themselves women change everybody.

But they cannot avoid the responsibility that comes with being a generation of change-bearing women. If their lives will be freer, they will also be more difficult. Many will risk isolation, and will doubtless experience it. Some will have their sexuality called into question. Others may be viewed as curiosities.

But so were Harriet Tubman and the Grimke sisters curiosities. So were Sojourner Truth and Susan Anthony curiosities. So are Fannie Lou Hamer and Gloria Steinam curiosities.

If women indeed, move decisively toward the feminist ideal, the world itself will have to change. Men will change as radically as we.

And, because the question has been asked --what is a woman --we will be able to answer with special authority.

A woman is a person who makes choices. A woman is a dreamer.

A woman is a planner. A woman is a maker, and a molder. A woman is a person who makes choices.

A woman heals others. A woman builds bridges. A woman makes children and makes cars. A woman writes poetry and songs. A woman is a person who makes choices.

Editors' Footnote: Pace appealed the decision of the Human Rights Commission to the Special Term Court of the State of New York. Special Term set aside the determination of the Commission and the Appelate Division of the State of New York affirmed. The New York City Commission on Human Rights then appealed to the Court of Appeals of the State of New York. The Court of Appeals held that there was insufficient evidence before the New York City Commission on Human Rights to sustain a finding of a pattern of discrimination, or to warrant the extensive and intuisive "affirmative action program" imposed on Pace. However, the Commission had sufficient evidence to find that Dr. Winsey had established a prima facie case of sex discrimination. The Court of Appeals, therefore, remitted the case to the Supreme Court of New York with directions to remand to the Human Rights Commission in light of their opinion. Matter of Pace College vs. Commission on Human Rights of the City of New York et. al. 377 N.Y.S. 2d 471

WOMEN: THEIR FUTURE IN THE COMMUNITY

by
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I was more than a little uneasy when I got a copy of the program and saw that I was slated to speak on "Women: Their Future in the Community." All my usual topics--women in the university, affirmative action, women's studies, equal opportunities for women on campus--were being talked about by others. And I--who have just been quoted in Ms. magazine to the effect that my husband and I have been shrewdly self-protective in sticking to an academic environment so that the impressions we had just gotten of each other as undergraduates remained valid--I, who had never ventured forth into a non-academic community--was being asked to comment on the future of women -- out there. Worse yet, I who can remember my mother saying (finally) of the PTA and the Girl

Scouts and the League of Women Voters, "Enough is enough; I'm going to get paid,"--I whose only volunteer work has in turn been done out of maternal guilt -- maybe the bake sale is an all important part of mothering, if I don't have time to bake brownies how can I possibly have enough time for my child (illogical I know, but still compelling)--here I'm trying to lead into (among other things) a discussion on voluntarism.

Worst of all, I seem to be expected to talk about the future-- enough to give any historian the shakes. So let me take refuge for a few minutes in the past in an attempt to discover just when and why American women began to be perceived as the conscience of the community and the backbone of all truly charitable enterprises.

If we look to the early nineteenth century we can see women being redefined--

no longer temptresses, outlaws, embodiments of irrationality and id -- women were increasingly seen as the natural repositories of all the domesticated Christian emotions. In tracing out the history of Protestantism in the last century we see the emergence of Jesus as the significant member of the Trinity, usurping the place of a patriarchal Jehovah, and this Jesus, as astute women such as Lydia Maria Child point out, the gentle Jesus of the golden curls, was essentially a female figure. Certainly he was identified with the self-effacing virtues which women increasingly seemed to have a monopoly on.

If we turn from theology to the sociology of religion in the same period, we can trace out a parallel change -- the gradual devaluation of impassioned revival in which the (male) minister stirred the conscience of the community and brought his auditors low before the Almighty, and the growing feeling that the process of conversion was more appropriately carried out under the watchful ministrations of the mother in the home.

As the gentle Jesus usurped the role of a righteous God in the minds of many Americans, and as the religious experience itself became increasingly domesticated -- a product of well-regulated family life rather than spiritual upheaval, women were right in there shaping these important cultural changes, more often at first in literature than in politics, but certainly alert to the leverage these new thoughts gave them in the community.

"Twas But a Babe " by Lydie Huntley Sigourney

I asked them why the verdant turf was riven
From its young rooting: and with silent lip
They pointed to a new-made chasm among
The marble-pillared mansions of the dead
Who goeth to his rest in yon damp couch?
The tearless crowd past on--" 'twas but a babe."
A babe!--And poise ye, in the rigid scales
Of calculation, the fond bosom's wealth?
Rating its priceless idols as ye weigh
Such merchandise as moth and rust corrupt,
Or the rude robber steals? Ye mete out grief,
Perchance, when youth, maturity or age,
Sink in the thronging tomb; but when the breath
Grows icy on the lip of innocence
Repress your measured sympathies, and say,
"'Twas but a babe."
        What know ye of her love
Who patient watcheth, till the stars grow dim,
Over her drooping infant, with an eye
Bright as unchanging Hope of his repose?
What know ye of her woe who sought no joy
More exquisiste, than on his placid brow
To trace the glow of health, and drink at dawn
The thrilling lustre of his waking smile?
Go, ask that musing father, why yon grave,
So narrow, and so noteless, might not close
Without a tear?
        And though his lip be mute,
Feeling the poverty of speech to give
Fit answer to thee, still his pallid brow
And the deep agonizing prayer that loads
Midnight's dark wing to Him, the God of strength,
May satisfy they question.
        Ye, who morn

When'er yon vacant cradle, or the robes
That decked the lost one's form, call back a tide
Of alienated joy, can ye not trust
Your treasure to His arms, whose changeless care
Passeth a mother's love! Can ye not hope,
When a few hasting years their course have run
To go to him, though he no more on earth
Returns to you?
        And when glad Faith doth catch
Some echo of celestial harmonies,
Archangels' praises, with the high response
Of cherubim, and seraphim, oh think--
Think that your babe is there.

It is possible, I think to see in the growing willingness of 19th century Americans to make women out to be natural vessels of virtue, a fear that men, who had to move out into the real world, simply could not afford to be practicing Christians, and that therefore, if meekness, self-effacement, turning the other cheek, casting not the first stone etc. were to be preserved as models of behavior for future generations, they would have to be entrusted to home and mother for safekeeping. Unquestionably there were large numbers of intelligent and articulate women who saw that this attempt to preserve an inherited ethos by bequeathing it exclusively to womenfolk might be their big break. Catharine Beecher managed to harness faith in domestic virtue and the woman's touch to the cause of putting elementary education in the hands of women. If they were specially fitted by the Lord to guide little feet aright at home, should they not also guide them in the schools? Elizabeth Cady Stanton tried to warn her contemporaries that all women were not made to be sisters of mercy, but well after the Civil War the voice of Jane Addams was heard throughout the land, sounding very much like Catharine Esther Beecher in her conviction that because women were by nature less rapacious and more loving of their fellow man, they necessarily had a major responsibility to guide community affairs. Jane Addams went so far as to argue for the vote on the basis of female moral superiority--women would not get involved in sordid deals, their votes could never be bought by bribes and free booze, their instinctive feeling for the welfare of children and those weaker than themselves would make them the natural supporters of reform parties and pacificism and protective labor legislation. Needless to say, Jane Addams was disappointed in the results of the suffrage amendment. Many others have been too.

Now what's the moral of all this -- I think, put very simply-- that for a variety of economic, social, and religious or philosophical reasons, women's role, and therefore her role in the community, was redefined in the nineteenth century, and that we still live with these definitions. I do not mean to get into the controversy over nature and nurture at this point when I think it should be clear that at the very least the mid-nineteenth century hope that women would save the nation by keeping out of the economic fray, the real world, and making each Christian home a microcosm of heaven was an exaggeration, a stereotyping, which has informed most thinking about women and the community up to the present. How many Americans, men and women, do you suppose have calmly assumed that the bipartisan stance of the League of Women Voters is a natural, an inevitable emanation of pure womanly souls who don't really comprehend what power politics is all about? How many hospital administrators think somewhere in the back of their minds that volunteer work comes naturally to women and that the quickest way to turn a grey lady into a heartless wretch is to tempt her with cash? How many of us in this room--the liberal, the right-minded--have a reserve clause hidden away somewhere which reads--women presidents wouldn't make wars, women naturally love all living things, they are in touch with their feelings etc. Again, let me say I am not trying to insist that there are no differences between men and women which potentially can be observed and generalized upon, but I cannot believe that these differences, when and if discovered, will sort themselves out into tidy moral categories and prove once and for all that women are the natural allies of the gentle Jesus of the nineteenth century sentimentalists.

We can talk forever about programs, models, operationalism, and still not come close to being able to predict the relationship of women to the community in the future if we are still carrying around these inherited assumptions about women's nature. After all, the Future of Women in the Community is potentially a meaningless heading, although undeniably useful for organizing a conference such as this. Women are the community, just as men are, and problems of human relationships are tricky enough without hypostatizing an over-ingenious scheme of differences.

"A hedge," you say, "Aha! She's going to wriggle out of any prediction by a species of academic punning: women are the community; they are not in it--very clever and yet very cheap." All right, let me make a reasonably daring statement: the greatest talent women have to offer their local (and national) communities at this moment is not special, self-effacing virtue, but sheer manipulative, administrative skill. As long as they are expected to speak out for truth and beauty they are implicitly going to be ineffective, they are being set up (and setting themselves up) for the rejoinder--"Well, that's all very well but how does it cost out," or "How about dispersing the crowd," or "Let's try to relate that to political reality." I would predict in the next twenty-five years we are going to see women shedding the sister of mercy image and going in for problem solving administration. If I'm going to have to bet on special sex-linked strengths (whether genetic or acquired) I'd rather bet on the efficient competence of my sisters than their Christian virtue. On balance today

American homes resemble General Motors rather more closely than a nineteenth century vision of heaven and those who are emerging into the broader community are better trained to cope than to preach.

ON THE MOVE
by
Evelyn Cunningham

For the past seven and one-half years, my life seems to have been completely encircled by women--their interests, their concerns, their problems, their frustrations, their neuroses, their hostilities, their successes, their everything.

So naturally, I was pleased and flattered when I was asked to join the Board of Directors of the Black Athletes Hall of Fame (not that I'm an ex-athlete, but they needed a token woman). I had almost forgotten the joys of being the only woman in a room full of men until I attended my first meeting a few weeks ago. The chairman gave me a gracious introduction, etc. then turned to me with a big smile and said, "Now at last we have someone to take the notes." For a moment I thought he was putting me on, but

I realized quickly that he -- and the other smiling members -- were dead serious.

Because they were nice guys, I gave them my low-key lecture, adding simply that my writing was not legible, I could neither type nor take shorthand. As I sat down, I thought, "we've still got a long way to go."

Yet three years ago, I would have taken the notes and would have been elected secretary each year until another woman came on the board.

Thirty years ago, I was required to be younger than, dumber than, and shorter than any man I hoped to attract and marry. (In three marriages I did in truth subscribe to the requisites, except that I pretended to be domber than).

I introduce these personal references to point up the utter ridiculousness of the time spent and the time wasted in denying full citizenship to women.

I think we've been trapped too long like the women of Tanzania, who have a saying about their role in their country: "The weaker sex in Tanzania is the one which has been expected to raise crops to feed the family, raise children to feed the nation, and raise husbands to enjoy all the benefits coming from the labors of the women of Tanzania."

While it's not that bad in this country, it's not good. Of course, our life styles are changing and the role of women is changing, but the changes have been predictable.

We are learning, with a great degree of consistency, that neither sex has a monopoly on the so-called masculine qualities of intellect, leadership and ambition, or on the so-called feminine qualities of compassion, understanding, acceptance of inner feelings and interest in and capacity for child-rearing.

We are learning that ending this artificial polarization of roles, which has been the basis for the oldest, most deeply ingrained form of human bondage, will free both men and women to realize their full human potential. Looking further ahead, it is more than idle speculation to suggest that when women achieve positions of political power in large numbers and when the sense of self-worth of men no longer depends on living up to an unrealistic and inhumane standard of aggressiveness and constant dominance, we may even have a peaceful world.

We have all heard the statistics that the more than 33 million women in the civilian labor force today are a cross-section of all women in the nation. They are from 16 to 70 and of every race and color. They include the married, the single, the widowed and the divorced or separated, and they live on farms, in suburbs and in central cities.

While the number of employed women has increased tremendously, the number of licensed day care centers has decreased.

This clearly has a serious impact on the minority woman who must work to support her children without adequate provisions for their care and without adequate income to provide for them, or she must accept the welfare system.

In the world of work she finds an ideal testing ground to assess her personal worth, and this world desperately needs her --not only for her potentials, her special skills and talents, but also for her special spirit,

Black women, perhaps, more than any other American women, need and seek the instruments that can assure their personal worth. They have the most to gain from equality of opportunity for women, and they recognize their potential for bringing both the women's groups and minority groups together for unified approaches around basic issues. In the years ahead, this coalition will have great impact on the total community.

For instance, there is no question but that women will become a force in moulding public policy. I don't mean public policy as vague activities. I mean public policy that is the result of day-to-day decision making processes that guide our lives...public policy that determines how much tax we must pay...where our children will go to school and what they will be taught...how much our groceries will cost...whether a vacant lot will become a parking area or a public park... how to overhaul local or national welfare systems. Bearing out this involvment in public policy, a recent report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charges that the programs that are supposed to help women are really forcing them into poverty or keeping them there.

The 175-page document lashes out at Federal and State welfare programs, Federal job training programs and both Social Security and private pension plans. All of them, the report charges, discriminate against women.

One of the major Federal welfare programs under attack was aid to families with dependent children (A.F.D.C.) and its required component, the work incentive program (W.I.N.).

One of the staff's charges was that women employed under W.I.N. end up with traditional low-paid "women's work" with little chance of advancement or salary increases.

Points raised in the report are based on data in the 1970 Census. Among these points are:

Nearly half the female-headed families receiving wages or salaries have incomes below the poverty level.

Women also represent three-fourths of all persons receiving public assistance and welfare payments, and of those women, more than half are living in poverty.

Sixteen percent of female-headed families with income from private pensions, annuities or alimony are living in poverty.

The Commission's public hearings in Chicago drew large numbers of low-income women. According to a Commission spokesperson, the value of these women "is that they educate us and tell us problems. They also find some answers and find out there are laws that cover them. And these hearings get action from companies and groups simply because they draw attention. People are put on notice that they have to change quickly."

On another front, we are witnessing the declining number of household workers. Conversely, the need for competent, well-trained household workers has been sharply increasing for the past 25 years.

As there are more and more working mothers in the business and commerical job markets, there is an ever-increasing, corresponding need for household workers. For generations the household worker has been degraded and made to appear servile and unwanted. This image has produced within this much-needed occupation generations of frustrated and low-paid workers. Thus the diminishing numbers within the occupation. This general attitude has put untold thousands on welfare relief rolls. And therefore, the total society suffers not only the loss of household workers, but the economy suffers the increasing burden of welfare costs. The coalition of women's groups and minority groups will eventually win the battle to include household workers in the minimum wage and bring dignity to the much-maligned professions.

The battle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment will also be finally won.

Contrary to the myth, the Amendment does not undermine the family or undercut the home. It further supports the choice of those who remain in the role of homemaker, but does not penalize those who because of necessity or because of choice, work outside the home. Remember, too, a divorced head of household also has a family. The notion in this country that a family consists of a father, a mother and two and one -half children is outmoded. A family is defined by those persons who participate in a life-style together. This is how I define it.

And that to me, is another myth that will be laid to rest.

On yet another front, political forces will be giving sharper attention to the escalating concerns of black women and their dialogue with white counterparts on issues such as employment opportunity, credit inequities, maternity leave benefits, etc.

It appears that although there will continue to be a large number of women who have full time roles as wives and mothers, and are fullfilled by that important role, there will still be at the same time a substantial number of women who possess the time, motivation and wualifications for an active role somewhere in the world outside the home.

Granted, America has given her a schizophrenic outlook. As she looks at TV, she can't help wondering whether she is really the ultra-feminine person of those candle-lit perfume ads, or the harried bone-weary, headache-ridden anti-heroine who screams at the kids, pops pills and gets herself lured into silly discussions of laundry soap.

(Can you imagine Shirley Chisholm and Golda Meir sitting at a dinner table discussing how they keep their hands soft and white?)

We're moving ahead, but we're suffering the pain of change. We are shaking up the system, but the system isn't yet tuned into the changes. We are claiming at-home experiences as budget director, social secretary, dietician, seamstress, laundress, valet, housekeeper, purchasing agent, nurse, mother, and we are still identified as homemaker.

What we do have --in abundance --is the spirit and the will to create a new and a workable system. When we achieve true freedom of choice, our society will realize untold benefits from the yet-to-be-uncovered resources of all people.

As the woman in Alexandria, Virginia said, "I don't want to be what people call a 'liberated woman' I just want to drive a diesel rig."

Finally, I won't soon forget a conference our Women's Unit sponsored two years ago in Albany. Theme of the conference was "Women - A Political Force." The conference opened in the State Assembly and it wasn't easy to get official permission to use that august chamber for a women's meeting. At any rate, nearly a thousand women jammed the chamber and each of those posh swivel chairs was twirling with the unaccustomed gyrations of women's bodies. A strange thing happened. There was that moment when every woman in that room really wanted her chair. In that moment, each of those women had an obsessive desire to possess those N.Y.S. Assembly chairs --to really determine her own destiny --to take part in the law-making process --to guide her town, her city, her state to the kind of life we all so desperately want.

That was a piece of the spirit and the will that's going to save us all, because women seem to know better than anyone that we're all in this together.

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One of the basic premises of existential philosophy is that the human person is immersed in the world, subject to the conditions of time and space in such a way that at any given moment only a finite numbers of ways of being in that world are available to it. For a long time women have been encouraged to define their choices in terms of one dominant option--that of having and keeping a home and family; in short, to be loved. As long as the dominant means of defining one-self is in terms of something or someone outside of herself, a person must concentrate on making herself over into what she takes to be required of her. For women this usually take the form of being understanding, nurturing, supportive, and all the other lovely adjectives we like to compliment ourselves with. Implied in such a list, though, is the elimination of anything which we take to be in any way painful to others, especially aggressive assertion of one's own needs, desires and preferences. We don't like people who behave this way, and especially not women who do so. And yet it is exactly this quality of aggression which is essential to all of the tasks to which we desire equal access with males. The best teachers are those who deal aggressively with ideas, the best salespeople, executives, etc., are those who are able to assert themselves and their particular view of things in order to persuade others. By refusing to be assertive, we refuse to be anything at all, and even the finite numbers of options available to us are not acted upon in any effective way.

Dreams remain dreams, useless even as releases of energy, unless we are willing to assert ourselves enough to seize those real, finite and immediate options which present themselves to us at this moment, not at some indefinite point in the future. Because we have practiced being self-effacing for much of our lives, we must begin to practice aggressively announcing our presence equally persistently in every situation which presents itself, lest we vanish entirely. Self-effacing people are not even visible, much less useful to anyone, including themselves--that is, assuming they can even figure out who that self is. We will only begin to be able to make the big choices which we are being urged to at this point in our history if we are able to assert ourselves clearly and firmly in the day to day situations where we tend to be quiet "for the sake of peace."

Every choice truly made excludes other possibilities, but unless we are willing to be defined by our choices, we run the risk of being defined as nothing at all.